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MODERN IRELAND.

MODERN IRELAND:

ITS

VITAL QUESTIONS,

SECRET SOCIETIES,

AND

GOVERNMENT:

BY

AN ULSTERMAN.

"*Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus justum vel rectum.*"

"We shall sell to no man justice or right:
We shall deny to no man justice or right:
We shall defer to no man justice or right."—*Magna Charta.*

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PREFACE.

THE shortest summary, and most satisfactory explanation of the Irish question may be found in this passage from a speech of Mr. Fox, delivered on 6th December, 1779. "It is the general calamities of the empire that have made Ireland poor," he said, "but it is the incapacity and negligence of government that have rendered her bold and daring. It is therefore incumbent on Parliament to show their fullest disapprobation of that indolence and incapacity, and convince Ireland that they are as ready as themselves to resent and punish the cruel and improper treatment which they have received from ministers. Ireland will see by such a conduct that it is not this country, but its ministers, which are blameable; which will, in my opinion, prove the surest means of once more binding both countries in the strongest and most indissoluble ties of friendship and affection."

Very little change is necessary to make this accurately descriptive of the present state of things. Although there have been no general calamities on which to charge part of the blame, the most industrious and energetic of the land-cultivators are flying from a country intrinsically rich, where an artificial system of land-laws has made prosperity impossible for them. That Ireland has again become bold and daring is a fact which ought not to be more clear than that the same cause has led to it, which in 1779 produced it.

The late "reformed" Parliament discoursed frequently on the causes of Irish discontent, the means of repressing it, and the measures needful to be taken in order to prevent the recurrence of disaffection. It has toyed with the question. The truths it has uttered, and the measures it has proposed, condemn its inaction, and show that its incapacity and negligence have been wilful vices, not negative faults. It has spoken with Athenian acuteness and urbanity of what should be done, but it has left to some Spartan successor to do the indicated work. Will the new Parliament accept the duty? Only by cordial acceptance and instant action can Ireland be convinced that the improper and cruel, because tantalizing,

treatment to which it has been subjected is at an end. It is now more necessary than it was eighty-nine years ago to give such a proof in order that the ties of friendship and affection be once more knit together.

The Parliament whose existence terminated this year bequeathes to its successor, in Ireland a country in which the essential safeguard of personal liberty is suspended. Any inhabitant of that country may, on the suspicion of a constable, be seized and consigned to solitary imprisonment in a felon's cell, for an indefinite period; and he may even die there, as several have died, without being brought before a magistrate, confronted with his accusers, or being made aware of the particulars of his offence. Not one free man, as the words are used in Magna Charta, but many free men have been imprisoned, outlawed, and banished, without the judgment of their peers. Four times successively in these three years it has been decreed that this state of things should be continued. It is nothing to be proud of that, in a constitutional realm, one important portion of the state should be deprived of constitutional liberty and governed by a delegated despotism, no matter how successfully that despotism may have exercised its powers. A country so crippled in

its most vital rights is, however, the legacy which has been bequeathed by one Parliament to its successor.

It is evident that in this condition of affairs the spirit of the British Constitution is not represented. This result has been produced, not as some think because the principles of English institutions are uncongenial to the Irish people, but because Ireland has not been governed in accordance with those principles: for it is of the essence of English institutions that they should represent the people and be in harmony with the popular will. Ireland has not been governed in this spirit. Centuries ago, the native chieftains petitioned to have the protection of English laws extended to them, and were refused. The existence of the Church Establishment at the present moment, is an indication that the policy which instigated that refusal did not die. Ireland has not yet fully received the benefit of institutions analogous to those of England, that is to say, of institutions which harmonize with the popular sentiment, and are not imposed on the people against their will.

There is no essential antagonism between the political instincts of the people who inhabit these islands. Scholars are coming to the conclusion that there was a close similarity between the ancient

institutions of the Celts and Anglo-Saxons, so long and so ignorantly pitted against each other. Even with respect to the question of landlordism, the author of this volume has been enabled to show that in the ancient Celtic land-tenure, landlordism was recognized, although many popular theories have been based on the contrary assumption. It is also an instructive fact to observe that those who labour to obtain security of tenure for the Irish tenant now, are striving for a thing which is not less in accord with the spirit of the Common Law of England than of the Brehon Law of Ireland.

The need of this security becomes daily more pressing. From the facilities for purchase, many estates change hands frequently, and tenants become the victims of successive proprietors, who are often mere speculators. In this way progress is impeded, good husbandry hindered, and the natural development of towns and manufactures not seldom prevented. The difficulty will not be conquered by the compensation bills which have hitherto been offered to Parliament. They are useless in the case of just landlords, and inefficient to bind the unjust. The manner in which they would be met may be judged from the specimens of those written contracts,

quoted in APPENDIX, which, have been forced upon the tenantry in different localities, to make void even the scant benefits accorded by law to tenures-at-will.

The plan adopted must be such as to prevent the possibility of any such strategy. But whatever project of reform be acted on, whether that recommended by Mr. Bright, by Mr. Butt, or by Mr. Mill be accepted (and four years ago the author suggested an application of Establishment property similar to that independently proposed by Mr. Mill in his recent pamphlet), there are two unpleasant consequences which may follow. These are: an increase of absenteeism and an augmentation of officialism. In order to provide against the delivering of Ireland over to the rule of a bureaucratic caste, which would be more odious in Ireland than in France for many reasons, it would be requisite to develop its national institutions. Wanting a social heart or centre of attraction, the Irish have been attracted to Spain, to France, and to America. The want at present exists: it would still continue, if Irish feeling be disregarded, after the reform of the land-system, and the dis-establishment of the Church. If not satisfied, New York may yet be, as it tends to become, the political Metropolis of the Irish People.

When, however, the action of centrifugal forces is

arrested, particles cohere which would otherwise fly asunder. In the same way, when repellent forces, such as a hostile Establishment and an unjust Land-code, are made to cease, the estrangement and repulsion they cause ceases with them. A simple removal of separating agencies allows the natural action of attracting influences, previously over-mastered, to be observed and to develop.

Besides, it is important to remark that in getting rid of those evils, a method of government can be discontinued which their existence has made necessary, and which has always been exceedingly irritating. To maintain such an institution as an alien Establishment it is requisite at frequent intervals—sometimes continuously for years—to deprive several millions of people of liberty, by suspending the Act of Habeas Corpus.

Between reversing the noblest principles of the Great Charter, and reversing an admitted injustice, former politicians have had to choose, and have preferred the Establishment to Magna Charta. Now, again, a period has arrived when statesmen and legislators must choose between them. The professed guardians of constitutional liberties must decide whether they will act in accordance with the spirit

of the Constitution, or fall back on the chronic remedy of ruling Ireland by withholding the safeguard of personal liberty—a remedy which has been so often the easy resource of negligent statesmanship that it has become, as it were, an Institution. And let it be remembered that no institution, established in the dark ages of Ireland's history, could be more alienating than such a method of government.

With respect to the contents of this volume, it is right to state that most of the articles were published in *The Chronicle*, and quoted largely in the Irish papers. They have thus stood the test of publicity, and, by their popularity in Ireland, have shown upon how many Irish subjects Englishmen and Irishmen can agree. To the conductors of *The Chronicle*, because of their fearless respect for historical truth, the author desires to dedicate whatever is worthy in this book.

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MODERN IRELAND.

SOCIAL WAR IN IRELAND.

THREE years ago there was said to be peace in Ireland. The Viceroy never wearied of proclaiming that the country was on the high road to prosperity, and that the people were happy and contented. From all other official sources of information the empire received similar intelligence. If the facts were rightly stated, how does it happen that there has been so complete a change in so short a time? No new law since then has been laid on the inhabitants of Ireland calculated to stir them up to wrath, nor has any great affliction since then fallen upon them which they could charge the Government with not having taken due measures to prevent or alleviate. If the facts were otherwise, if there was not peace in Ireland, if the country was not prosperous nor the people contented, then the State was badly served by

its officials in Ireland. Knowingly or unconsciously, they misled public opinion at a time when ameliorating measures would have been most influential, and by so doing they took upon themselves the responsibility of endangering the peace of the empire. Now that is a responsibility which should rest solely with the Legislature; for the servants of the State to assume it is a grave usurpation. It is possible, indeed, that they did not understand the people, or appreciate the circumstances of the time; in either of which cases they were as unsuited for their position as men could be who chose to consult their own prejudices instead of studying to perform their duties.

Ireland, in the opinion of the majority of its people, was not prosperous, nor in the enjoyment of a real peace, three or four years ago. The declarations to the contrary on the part of officials greatly exasperated the multitude, and were regarded as the manifestation of a deliberate and hostile policy on the part of the Government. And it was not the lower class alone, nor the lower and middle classes alone, who were impelled to give way to such thoughts. A Relief Committee, presided over by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, held its sittings in the Irish capital; and whilst it was receiving thousands of pounds from all classes in Ireland, from friends in England, and from the Irish race abroad—whilst New York alone sent a contribution of some £10,000—it had to suffer the marked neglect of the Viceroy and the open attacks of the organs of the Chief Secretary. Yet this Relief

Committee was composed of clergymen and gentlemen the most opposed in politics and in religion. The inference drawn was natural. If Irishmen of all classes, creeds, and politics could lay aside their private views in order to combine in one charitable effort, and if none in Ireland but the officials of the Government opposed it, it was inevitable that the opposition of the Government should be attributed to some ulterior and unfriendly motive. Now, the distress, which had been chiefly caused by wet harvests, put the tenantry in many places altogether at the mercy of their landlords; and the latter too frequently made no allowance for the calamitous seasons, but plied the sufferers with notices to quit. Here, then, it was said, is the reason and motive of the conduct of the representatives of England. They would fain prevent the distribution of relief amongst the people, lest the mere Irish should escape eviction, lest the old inhabitants of the country should not be swiftly exterminated. What gave additional colour to their reasoning was the frequent asseveration of the Lord Lieutenant, as he made his viceregal progress from one cattle-show to another, that Ireland was destined to be simply the "fruitful mother of flocks and herds," and that, in order to qualify her for such a destiny, the population should be thinned out. No people with any spark of manhood in their breasts would bow to such a theory. It had naturally an evil effect in Ireland. "If it were not known that the bee had a sting the beehive would be robbed," was the

expression of a peasant orator at a monster meeting of the people held upon the historic hill of Sliav-na-man, in Tipperary. He went soon after to learn the use of arms in the American war, obtained promotion rapidly, and is now one of the most active organizers of the Fenian Brotherhood in that country. But the policy of extermination, so openly avowed by Lord Carlisle, aroused the indignation of the upper classes as well. We have seen how opposed the Catholic Clergy generally have shown themselves towards what is called "Fenianism" in Ireland. It must not be imagined, however, that such opposition means acceptance of a policy of expatriation for the Irish. "The men who have the destinies of the nation in their hands," wrote the Catholic Primate of Ireland, "forgetful of their duty, appear to look on with indifference at the sufferings of the poor, and the laws established for the relief of indigence are generally administered in such a spirit as to afford scarcely any assistance where it is most wanted. While some of the high functionaries of the state are lecturing on the prosperity of a starving population, whilst foreign poor-law officials are calculating on how small an allowance of food a poor man may be starved without any one being made responsible to the law, not of God but of man, for his death, the only resource left to the most afflicted classes of society is in the charity of the faithful." Whilst such a condemnation was extorted from the Primate, the Archbishop of Cashel, in thanking the vicar of the American Bishop

of Buffalo for certain donations, said that he had read that Bishop's letter to his clergy and people with no small emotion, and proceeded thus to quote and comment upon it: "That Ireland, naturally so fertile, and united with 'rich and powerful England' (his Lordship's words), should be subject to periodical visitations of want, sometimes little short of, sometimes amounting to, starvation, is an anomaly surprising, indeed, yet easy to be accounted for. Your good Bishop does account in part for this anomaly. The apathy of the Government of 'rich and powerful England' which will not see or will not heed the distress of the Irish people, but leaves them to their fate, either to perish of want or to live upon the charity of foreign lands—the hostility of the Government of 'rich and powerful England' which maintains a code of land laws ruinous to the best interests of Ireland—these things the Bishop of Buffalo signalizes in his admirable address, and they are undoubtedly among the causes of the anomalous, the unhappy condition of Ireland. The direct operation of the land laws is to root out the Celts. The Government of 'rich and powerful England' sees this, and will not raise its little finger to change the system of land laws which are thus depopulating Ireland. What are we to conclude from all this? What can we conclude, unless we are artfully blind, but that the Government of 'rich and powerful England' has no objection to the depopulation of Ireland, and therefore leaves those laws to work her ruin?" The Arch-

bishop of Tuam, addressing a letter to Mr. Gladstone on the state of the country, adopted similar phraseology, and earnestly remonstrated against the Viceroy's policy of driving out the people to make room for cattle. He foreshadowed the effect which we now see it has had upon the Irish population at home and in the United States. In fact, every Catholic prelate or priest who referred to the condition of Ireland spoke in the same spirit which prompted the Bishop of Limerick's words in a conference of his clergy. "We are not contented with the English Government in Ireland," he said: "we have neither love nor liking for its dealings with the Irish race."

But it must not be imagined that these were the only men who regarded this policy as hostile to their country, or protested against it. As, in spite, first of official denials of the existence of distress in Ireland, and next of official neglect and discountenance of the exertions of the Relief Committee, persons of all persuasions came forward to constitute it, to contribute to its funds or to claim its aid, so the Irish journals were all but unanimous in deprecating and denouncing the Lord Lieutenant's depopulation scheme. It must be borne in mind that the people, hopeless of any favorable change in the land-laws from a parliament of landlords, as they expressed it, had been flying from their country at the rate of a hundred thousand annually. Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic journals from one extremity of Ireland to the other (with perhaps a few interested exceptions)

declared that the chief cause of an exodus which they regarded as ruinous was the absence of any guarantee that the tenant would enjoy the fruit of his labour, and the presumption that he would be despoiled of it. The spread of education, they pointed out, had taught the peasantry that in no civilized nation in the world was such a state of things permitted. It could not be that the emigration was caused by over-population, because Ulster, the most densely populated province, was avowedly the most prosperous of all. Ulster, however, had a "custom" which gave the tenant some security in his holding, and some recompense for his outlay on improvements. It could not be the poverty of the soil, nor the wetness of the seasons, which prompted the flower of the rural population to emigrate; for Scotland had a greater rainfall, and Ulster was, by nature, one of the poorest of the provinces. Thus they reasoned. But whilst the vast majority of the Irish people protested, the Viceroy alone was listened to by certain influential English organs which in Ireland are supposed to represent the ideas and intentions of the governing classes. His theory was borne back to Ireland from the capital of the empire in harsher echoes; and the people were plainly told that they were too many by half a million or more. They had nothing to hope from the Legislature, nothing from the laws. The masses of the peasantry felt as if the country were laid under an interdict—as if a Notice to Quit hung over the nation, like a thunder-cloud. Forebodings came upon

them that they were on the eve of another colonization from Britain, like that by which Cromwell crushed out the native population before. All the old wounds were re-opened, and all the old evil memories cankered inwardly.

It was under the pressure of this policy that two associations sprang into existence, and a third, from being of little strength, rapidly became a power. One of the new organizations was the National League, which under the presidency of a Protestant, took up O'Connell's policy, and claimed a repeal of the Union and a native Parliament; the second was the National Association, which under the patronage of the Catholic prelates, thought it better to leave those questions in abeyance, and to give one other trial to the Imperial Legislature. They hoped, by allying themselves with the English Liberals, to obtain a rectification of the land laws, and equal rights and privileges in Church and school questions, through the abolition of existing and invidious monopolies. No one who has studied the position of Hungarian parties with regard to Austria will be at any loss to find parallels for these Irish associations.

But these two societies were not formed of the classes immediately affected by the national Notice to Quit. The League numbered but few members outside Dublin, except in Australia; the Association included a large body of the clergy and some representatives of the respectable laity. The non-emancipated multitude were not in either. They have not

much confidence, it would seem, in being able to employ the laws for their own defence, which is not perhaps an altogether unreasonable shyness, seeing that for two centuries they have seen all the law arrayed on the side of the landlord, many statutes passed to enforce his claims, and not one for the protection of the tenant. They know nothing of the British Constitution; its embodied principles are represented to them only by the landlord, the agent, and the minister of the Established Church, who are always magistrates, and sometimes depopulators. To stay the progress of local extermination, they had occasionally found the erection of secret tribunals, with laws more favourable to the non-emancipated, of some use and service. They argued from this to larger things. When the Chief Secretary for Ireland declared that the nation required to be more than decimated—when the Viceroy pronounced a decree of national ejectment against the country—they fancied they saw in both but the representatives of evicting landlords, against whom to appeal to the laws would be to appeal in vain. The Irish Republican Brotherhood, then in its infancy, offered the framework of a secret society, with aims and laws which were professedly made to root the people in the land of their birth. If they felt well disposed to it, we should recollect that they have never had the security of our laws identified with their interests; if in large numbers they became members of that

secret society, and imparted to it the formidable character it has since acquired, we must not forget that the challenge was thrown down to them by some of our own officials, and that, in unmistakeable terms, they were bidden to fly or fight.

IRISH REPUBLICANISM.

No theory is more popular with a certain class of writers than that which asserts a total difference of character to exist between the inhabitants of Ireland and of England. Whenever a question of Irish political life arises, this theory is sure to be produced at the same time, and paraded as the solution of the problem. On one side of St. George's Channel there is the Anglo-Saxon, of a character essentially self-reliant, self-asserting, stubborn, and tenacious, caring nothing for titles, nothing for leaders, and very little for princes. These qualities he shares with all Teutonic races, as was so plainly seen in Germany, before Count Bismarck's swoop, and may even yet be discerned by any student of the proceedings of the North German Parliament. If further proof were requisite, a backward glance at the history of England would be sufficient to furnish it. Beyond the Irish Channel, however, all is different. There dwell the Celts, a fickle race, easily moved, and loving to be patronized and noticed by great people. They

are gregarious, fond of organizing, and devoted to their leaders with blind submissiveness. They do not care for political progress, but they have a very keen ear for music. Fenianism is not really popular amongst them; it is merely a sickly exotic. All the tenant farmer wants is to be allowed to sit happy under the shelter of his own landlord's "great house." To speak of Republicanism in connection with such a race shows how little is known of their real character. Plainly, their ancient system of government was an iron feudalism, and the descendants of the vassals still cast a yearning look back to their lost despotic masters, and would fain even now twine their affections round their landlords, if the latter, not seeing this, did not rather, generally, prefer to be absentees. The simple remedy, therefore, for all the ills and discontent of the Irish people is to disregard the clamour of demagogues for rights and redress, and to send back the absentee landlords to the bosom of their anxious tenantry.

This theory is based on a misconception of the old organization of the island, and on a curious ignorance of the actual state of the country. It follows, that statesmen who employ it for the solution of Irish problems, are obliged to make frequent use of it; for, in spite of the most satisfactory explanations, the questions come up again and again, as fresh as ever. Whatever influence the ancient clan-system may have had in moulding the character of the people, it will certainly not be made clear by confusing such a mode

of organization with the feudal system. The clansman was a very different person from the feudal vassal or retainer. In many respects he was the equal of his chief, bound to him, in frequent instances, by the ties of kinship, and possessing a voice in his election. Both were ruled by well-defined laws of rights and privileges. "There are four dignitaries of a territory who can be degraded," says the *Senchus Mor*, "a false-judging king, a stumbling bishop, a fraudulent poet, and an unworthy chieftain who does not fulfil his duties." Thus these ancient Celts were acquainted with the art of deposing their great men, to whom they are usually supposed to have been so submissive. Furthermore, this ancient law, which no Brehon could abrogate, goes on to explain that by "a false-judging king" is meant, in particular, "one who pronounces a false sentence on his tenants," and that, "whether it be concerning a small thing or a large, it makes him equally unworthy." If the Irish tenant of the present day preserves so much of the traditions of the past as to regard his landlord with the same feelings that his ancestors cherished towards their petty kings, it is to be feared that he may entertain ideas with reference to him totally undreamed of by English journalists. Should he fancy, for instance, that a landlord who raises the rent because of improvements made by his tenant, or a landlord who ejects without giving any compensation for tenant improvements, resembles "a king who pronounces a false sentence on his tenants," he might also imagine that he is a "dignitary of a territory"

who should be degraded. Applying the same rule to the case of an absentee landlord, would he not also be tempted to regard him, not as the father of the prodigal regarded his son, but as "an unworthy chieftain who does not fulfil his duties?" These and other laws of a similar character moulded the Irish nation; and there cannot be a doubt that they influence yet, to some extent, the popular mind. The Brehon laws remained in full force throughout the larger portion of Ireland long after Henry II.'s time. Two centuries ago, there were regularly established Brehons or judges; and many of the "agrarian outrages" of later days may perhaps be explained by a reference to the old laws of the country. The abolition of the native laws and native judges was followed by the establishment of secret societies, which enforced the sentences of their own tribunals. What is known in the north-west of Ireland as "a Glen-Swilly decree," by which, for instance, a debtor's cattle are removed, and secreted until his debt be atoned for, is carried out on a principle identical with that of an ancient law, which provided for this very case.

With laws such as these to guide us in discriminating the groundwork of the Irish national character, it is impossible not to regard the theory we have referred to as an exceedingly shallow one. If we proceed to examine what influences have in later times been likely to act upon and mould the Irish mind, we shall not find them such as are adapted to

counteract the ancient ideas. The superstructure is of a piece with the groundwork. Whilst a new system has been given to the country, little trouble has been taken to naturalize it. The new dignitaries have not sought to make themselves popular; on the contrary, they have frequently estranged themselves even bodily. Of course there are exceptions—many and great; but, on the other hand, the highest and most influential dignitary of all has constantly avoided the country. Royalty has been the chief absentee. The negative effect of all this would be sufficiently great, even were there no other causes tending in the same direction. Not only, however, have there been such causes, but other influences also have arisen adverse to the new order of things, and not contrary to, though more advanced than, the older views. The formation of a great, prosperous, and hospitable Republic as a neighbour, although a distant one, was calculated powerfully to influence the Irish mind. Had the national character been framed on the feudal mould, it would not have been naturally in harmony with the new views that came upon it from the west; but to a people who had once made laws for the election and deposition of their kings and chiefs, Republicanism appeared natural and not unfamiliar. Subsequent events were not calculated to counteract such a view among Irishmen. In America the ministers of their religion were put on a footing of exact equality with all others; their political martyrs were canonized; and their refugees were warmly

welcomed. Food was shipped to them from the great Republic in the time of their grievous want; and those of their kindred who had crossed the Atlantic never wearied of sending home flattering reports and golden enclosures. To crown all, their military aptitudes found there a ready outlet and a fitting reward. They were placed in a position of perfect equality before the law, and they esteemed nothing more dearly.

But it has been too much the custom to speak of the Irish as altogether Celts, and then to construct the usual theory. Even in the days of the native chiefs there were Norse and Anglo-Saxon settlers amicably established in various parts of Ireland. Then, again, the Danes forced themselves upon its ports, and surely bequeathed some portion of their characteristics to the inhabitants, after they had lost sovereign rule. In the restricted sense in which some writers use the word, Dublin could not be spoken of as an Irish city; there, as elsewhere, the Normans succeeded the Danes. What remnant of these races was not absorbed by the native population —becoming in the process "more Irish than the Irish themselves"—was collected into the mass of the Cromwellian colony; difference of religion here intervening to prevent the subsidence and absorption of the latest settlers. We have seen how the native Irish population stood with respect to republican ideas: were the traditions of the followers of Cromwell such as to make them differ from the others on

this subject? On the contrary, though starting from different points, they arrived at the same result. Lord Chancellor Clare, in 1800, thus refers to them:— "And thus a new colony of new settlers, composed of the various sects which then infested England— Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millennarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy, poured into Ireland." They had a reason of their own, too, for regarding the Americans with favour. They sympathised with them as with fellow-colonists. Both had had differences with the central authority; and when the American colony pressed on against restrictive laws, and broke them, the Norman-English colony in Ireland passed votes of sympathy, and carried their imitation so far as to obtain an acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish Parliament. The nobles of the colony did not wish to go farther.

It is desirable to ascertain what actually caused the formation of an avowedly Republican society at that period, as the fact may throw some light on the origin of the so-called "Irish Republican Society" of the present day. A Committee of the Irish House of Commons declared its opinion that "the Rebellion of 1798 originated in a system framed, not with a view of obtaining either Catholic emancipation or any reform compatible with the existence of the Constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the Government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and

forming a Democratic Republic, founded on the destruction of all Church establishment, the abolition of ranks, and the confiscation of property." The description doubtless was found officially useful, but it is not altogether in harmony with facts. The Irish Parliament was exceedingly corrupt. A great majority of the House of Commons were mere nominees of the Peers, who were themselves to a very considerable extent the slaves as well as the creatures of the Viceroy. The Volunteers, when they had achieved legislative independence, wished to give that independence some security by achieving a reform of the Legislature itself. They presented their plan of reform to Parliament; but the latter body refused to receive it, on the ground that they would not seem to be intimidated by an armed force. Then Reform was pressed upon them by petitions from all the civil organizations, but with no effect; whereupon an association was formed in the colony for "a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament." In order to fuse the whole nation together, the Association declared also "that no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion." The "United Irishmen" were at first simply Reformers; they asked for manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, the payment of representatives, and the abolition of a property qualification. It was not until they found that Parliamentary action made no progress that they betook themselves to Republicanism. The

extreme party then prevailed, as is usual in such cases.

Change but a few names, and here is the history of the causes which have produced the Irish Republicanism of the present day. Some years ago the whole country pressed the Legislature with petitions for a reform of the land-laws. It made no progress. One of the leaders of the movement died, as some say, of a broken heart; another left his country in despair, and went to Australia, where he became a minister and introduced a land law. The rank and file of the agitation streamed out hopelessly to America, where they now appear as "Fenians." Those who remained at home nourished a sullen discontent, and in due time organized themselves, to some extent, into a Republican society, having sympathizers even in Great Britain, just as in the last century there were "United Englishmen" and "United Scotchmen" as well as "United Irishmen."

THE VITALITY OF FENIANISM.

FALSE appreciations of the character, origin, and aims of what is now known as Fenianism have betrayed most of our public writers into the utterance of false prophecies. The forces which combined to constitute the Fenian movement have not been analyzed with that calm impartiality which would give soundness to the judgment, and an instinctive perception of the meaning and power of the conspiracy. Its strongest elements have thus been quoted as the clearest evidences of its weakness. Our attention has been repeatedly invited to the fact that the social position of Irish insurgents has greatly fallen since Lord Edward Fitzgerald's time, and even since the less brilliant period of Smith O'Brien and his companions. This the public has been asked to accept as an argument that Fenianism is more vulgar, and therefore less formidable, than former insurrectionary movements. Were the men of 1793, however, inferior in vigour to the leaders of 1789 in France, because they were more plebeian? The argument, so long and largely

insisted upon, will not stand a moment's thoughtful investigation. Had the promoters of Fenianism believed that the addition to their ranks of those who had much property to lose would have strengthened their power, they would have striven to conciliate them, following the tactics of 1848. They did nothing of the sort. Almost the first symptom of their presence in the country was the expression of opinions depreciatory of so-called popular leaders, and sarcastically severe on the prominent personages of "Young Ireland." Such persons, it was said, might join the Brotherhood if they pleased; but they must be content to accept a subordinate place, and work their way up, if found worthy of promotion. The projectors of the association did not want men of position, scrupulous with respect to risk; what they wanted was the rank and file of an Irish army. A peasant could pull a trigger quite as easily as a gentleman, could undergo fatigue better, and would be less likely to display a want of trust in his self-confident superiors.

To provide these raw levies with competent officers was not a difficulty, but the reverse. The American war was accepted as a military training school by tens of thousands of the more ardent Irish emigrants in the United States. Before that, indeed, the American division of the society had been organizing and drilling a few incomplete regiments; and the amount of pains taken in this process of self-instruction may be judged from the fact, that many of their privates were at once appointed officers in the new levies on the

out-break of the war. This gave them an opportunity, by which they were not slow to profit, of spreading Fenian views, and of increasing the numerical power of the Brotherhood. So great became their influence, that in some Irish regiments no man had a chance of promotion who was not a member of the Brotherhood, as a correspondent in one of the Irish-American papers complained. Here, then, was a nursery of commanders, men peculiarly adapted for the purposed work, because they had risen, generally, from the position occupied by the masses in Ireland, shared their sympathies, and understood their feelings. That, here as elsewhere, the Irish did not fail to distinguish themselves by deeds of desperate valour, the generous testimony of Confederate writers amply proves. Their gallant onsets turned the beam of victory on more than one American battle-field, as the charge of the *Brigade Irlandaise* had done before, for France, at Fontenoy. Their fame, somewhat exaggerated no doubt, penetrated every peasant's cot in Ireland, both by newspapers which republished the special reports of the vigilant Irish-American press, and by private letters recording the promotion of the writers to ranks hitherto regarded in Ireland as the exclusive perquisites of the ascendancy party, and therefore hedged with a certain divinity. The natural results followed. Young men poured out from the old country to share in their glory, and became initiated in the Republican principles of their comrades: a revolution was accomplished in their minds, giving them self-confidence,

and inducing them, as veterans who had bought their commissions with their blood, to think of the home-forces without alarm. At the same time, the rout of raw levies at Bull's Run taught them what, in the commencement of operations in their native country, they might expect; whilst the subsequent successes gave them a hope of ultimate triumph. They drew from their experience in the American campaign the lesson that, in Ireland, their best plan would be to shun the example of the United Irish of 1798, to avoid pitched battles, and compel the British commander to disperse his troops in order tokeep in check their guerilla bands. By adopting and persevering in this strategy, they hoped both to inure their men to arms and to keep their flag flying in the country until they could claim for Ireland recognition as a belligerent power.

The influence of the Irish element in the United States is not to be despised. When it chooses it can give the casting vote in several States; and there is no doubt that the Fenian chiefs were correct in their anticipation that a real rising in Ireland would band together its most widely-separated ranks. The American people, they argued, would not withhold their sympathy, nor be chary of their gold; and they counted confidently on the American merchants, who suffered so much from privateers fitted out in English ports, to enforce the law of retaliation to its fullest extent. Proofs of sympathy on the part of Americans of high standing they had in abundance : some for-

warded contributions to the great Fenian Fair at Chicago; others, more recently, at a pic-nic at Buffalo (where those who were to invade Canada had assembled) said their hearts were with them, and urged them to go on. Passes were given to "General Mullen," a chief organizer, to facilitate his progress along the line during the war. In fact, the only voices raised against them were those of some of the Catholic clergy and their organs in the press. This, however, rather tended to make the non-Catholics regard them with favour, as proving them to be truly independent republicans, not to be cowed by clerical dictation. The American laity are peculiarly proud of being "free citizens," and jealous of anything resembling interference with their privileges. Distrustful of the Irish as over-submissive to their clergy, they accepted the Brotherhood as showing, in their own words, that they were assuming the stature and mien of freemen, beneath the sun of Washington. No Catholic priest openly spoke in its favour; but one is now a prisoner in Kingston Penitentiary, having been found guilty of accompanying a party of raiders to Canada, and ministering to the wounded. On the other hand, a Baptist or Methodist minister and an ex-Presbyterian minister laboured constantly for them, whilst an Episcopalian clergyman accompanied the same party of raiders, avowedly as their chaplain, but acting on an emergency as an officer. In the spring of 1865 the Brotherhood could point to branches in twenty-seven States or districts, ranging from three to

forty-one "circles" in each; and in the army and navy to fifteen branches or circles, counting 14,620 members. The total number of members represented by all the circles was estimated at 80,000; but these were not all necessarily combatants. Indeed a Fenian Sisterhood had started into existence also—a remarkable indication of the enthusiasm which pervaded the Irish masses.

The origin of Fenianism in the United States is not of old date, although it has had its precursors. "America was lost by Irish emigrants" said, in 1784, Mr. Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy. There was an Irish Society formed in America, whose members were men of wealth, and which taxed itself in sums surprisingly large to assist the sometimes sorely-stratiened Republican army. It was called the Society of the "Friendly Sons of St. Patrick;" Washington accepted its invitation to become an honorary member, and was entered as an adopted Irishman. Again, when news of the attempted outbreak of 1848 reached America, a directory was immediately constituted, and a fund raised, a considerable portion of which still remains unspent in the hands of trustees, one of them being a distinguished American publicist. In the words of one of the prominent speakers at the first meeting convened, they intended it as a present for Ireland "when she set up housekeeping for herself." It was not until exactly ten years ago that the germ of the actual Brotherhood was planted by John O'Mahony, originally a "gentle-

man farmer" of Tipperary. Having been compromised in the abortive movement of 1848, he fled to Paris, where he lived for some time with a younger and suppler refugee, James Stephens, the son of a Kilkenny clerk. Here Stephens, whilst translating a novel of Dickens for the *feuilleton* of the *Moniteur*, got acquainted with some unquiet spirits of the Continental revolutionary societies. O'Mahony and he became enrolled members, and studiously made themselves acquainted with the best methods of secret organization for ulterior purposes. When their plans were matured they consulted some French officers, veteran Irish rebels of 1798, and some American officers, who had been leaders of "Young Ireland." The scheme did not win encouragement. The American fund was not given; and the two refugees had to depend upon themselves. Stephens went to Ireland, forming first the Phœnix Society, which exploded, whilst from its ashes emerged the greater "I. R. B.," which signifies the "Irish Republican Brotherhood." O'Mahony proceeded to the United States to organize the Transatlantic Irish nation. In 1857, aided by another refugee, Colonel Doheny, he founded the "E. M. A." or "Emmet Monument Association," the allusion being to that passage of Robert Emmet's speech in the dock, in which he requests that his epitaph may remain unwritten till full justice can be done to his memory. The first attempt was a failure. But the explosion of the Phœnix Society, trifling as it was, sufficed to stir the interest of the

Transatlantic Irish, and induce some of them to become members of O'Mahony's new organization, the Fenian Brotherhood. What suggested the word "Fenian" was, no doubt, Keating's Gaedhlic History of Ireland, which O'Mahony published with a translation.

Now, it is easy to perceive that there is but a half truth in the statement so frequently heard, that Fenianism is of American origin, and has no source in Irish grievances. Technically, indeed, there have not been any Fenians in Ireland except those who came from over the Atlantic; but then there has existed a society of "Irish Republicans" in Ireland specifically identical with them, and even anterior in date of formation. How the two societies appeared to each other, magnified by the sea-mists through which they were viewed, should not be forgotten; for it has greatly helped to give them both vitality. If the "Irish Republic" were alone to be dealt with, it would now be a matter of history. But American Fenianism is not directly to be met; and it knows its strength and its value as a base of supply. "Fenianism," says the New York *Irish People* (a paper at present confiscated in the Irish Post Office), "contemplates the organization of the Irish elements in America in one great national association for the purpose of combining all the vast resources at its command, moral, national, and political, and directing them intelligently, systematically, and determinedly towards the liberation of Ireland. It contemplates, secondly, the formation of allied asso-

ciations in Ireland, Great Britain, the British Provinces, and wherever else any branch of the Irish nation may be found in sufficient force." The element to be operated on in Ireland is not badly described by a sober witness, the Bishop of Kerry, in a recent pamphlet. Having stated that the upper and upper-middle class are loyal, "because for them Emancipation has been a reality; it has given them the rights and privileges which follow rank and wealth," he adds:—"It is not so with the millions for whom Emancipation has had no practical or appreciable result. For them," as a consequence, "the past still lives in the present; they think they are an oppressed race. Men live in the hope of what they call a deliverance of their native land. Hence a dreamy, unreal, discontented existence. Like the Athenians asking in their streets, 'What news? Is Philip dead?' we have a people expecting good fortune from some unforeseen chance, or from the possible ruin of the power which they consider the cause of their miseries." Dr. Moriarty thinks that this state of affairs is due to the existence of the Irish Church Establishment; but it is not due to this alone. A study of the popular press in America, as well as in Ireland, will show how much the many abortive efforts made in Parliament to deal with the land question have caused confidence in the good intentions of the Legislature to give place to despair, and even to suspicion of an irreconcileable hostility. Expectations have been raised only to be

disappointed; and thus it has come to pass that a Presbyterian Clergyman, prominent in the agitation for tenant-right, has become one of the Executive Council of the "Irish Republic." Hope deferred makes a nation desperate.

THE SUPPRESSED INFORMATIONS.

THE mystery which the Government has shown its wish to preserve with regard to the evidence furnished by the so-called General Massey, has naturally been the cause of various wild and strange rumours, especially in Ireland; and reactionary partizans have not neglected the opportunity of endeavouring to cast a shadow of suspicion over the more prominent of their political opponents in Great Britain. It would, of course, be unfair to say that such a result was officially intended, even although it may have been foreseen. But conjectures do not end here, nor are they all built on so slender a basis of fact. There are other grave suppositions concerning the amount of aid and countenance given to Fenianism by foreign Powers which have a better foundation. They seem to be endorsed by Lord Derby's intimation that he could not imagine a course more likely to embroil this country with foreign Powers than that the Government should lay before Parliament all the information it

possesses with regard to the countenance and support which such conspiracies may have received from Foreign States. An intimation like this affords apparent reason to believe that the suppressed informations contain revelations at once extremely criminatory and extremely unexpected. It is natural that men of fertile imagination should fill up such an outline with the darkest colours in the pictures they think proper to present to their neighbours. But in reality there is a flaw in their reasoning. It does not follow from Lord Derby's statement that, with regard to the conspiracy or to the countenance it has received, the suppressed informations contained much beyond what was already generally known. The graver character assigned to them could be explained by the simple fact that the statements they contain have now passed from the region of mere public intelligence, and become embodied in an official document. The Government might previously have ignored any awkward relationships which may have existed between the conspiracy and foreign Powers; it only becomes officially cognizant of them when the sworn testimony is placed within its hands. So long as this is secret, it is free to act or not to act, as it thinks proper; to ignore the disagreeable statements, or to make them the occasion for merely informal enquiry and remonstrance. Should they, however, be officially produced, it could no longer, with a due regard to its honour, avoid taking formal action in the matter and demanding an explanation from the States implicated. Such

a course would, no doubt, cause little hesitation or embarrassment were the Powers in question inferior in strength or undoubtedly friendly in disposition. But it happens that the States which are thus called in question in the suppressed informations are neither the one nor the other.

Before alluding to some points, which we have reason to believe have been referred to by the informer, it may be as well to state that the so-called General Massey was not at all the head and front of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, so that this league is not decapitated by losing him. He was not even one of the prominent personages of the American Fenians, so that neither have they suffered any mortal blow. Having served in a subordinate position in the British army for a short time, he emigrated to America, and became an officer in the Confederate forces. When the Confederacy had suffered defeat and dissolution, he next found employment as Fenian "Organizer" in the district of Louisiana. He visited Ireland with some other Irish-American officers at a period previous to his recent advent, when it was expected that an outbreak would take place. When it was found that there was no prospect of active service, or of freedom from molestation, or even of punctual and plentiful pay in Ireland, he retired to America again with his brothers in arms. Stephens did not obtain much credit for the due discharge of his functions at this period. The Irish-American officers were greatly displeased with his conduct; and this combined with other things to

defeat his opposition, when, just before the recent outbreak, Massey volunteered to invade Ireland if a fund of five hundred guineas were placed at his disposal. He reveals, in his informations, how he distributed portions of this sum to four Irish-Republican officers whom he met in London, and despatched to their several districts, with orders to hold themselves in readiness for the signal of insurrection. Next he proceeded to Dublin, where a meeting of "centres" was convened immediately, to confer with him on the subject of ways and means. He found that the members were numerous and willing, but not sufficiently prepared, and very imperfectly supplied with arms. In the Dublin district, little by little, they had succeeded in drilling and disciplining a body of some 18,000 recruits, many of whom, however, were in their 'teens. As to arms, there had been naturally great difficulties in the way of procuring and secreting any; but from their iron forges and other sources they had acquired about 3,000 weapons; while of percussion caps and other munitions they had a fair supply. But, although Dublin has been a stronghold of the Irish Republicans, it was surpassed in many respects by the Cork district. The organization in the latter place, indeed, had had the advantage of priority of time in its origin, and thus a greater opportunity of developing itself; neither could it be so well watched over as the capital can be by its small army of metropolitan police. Then there is also the fact that, the larger the town the more is its interest centered in itself,

whilst in smaller and provincial towns the connection between city and country is close and familiar. It thus occurs that Massey found the Cork district excelled Dublin by 2,000 men and 12,000 arms. The public mention of these two districts merely was all that was needed for the purposes of the prosecution, but it would be a grave error to conclude that there are no Irish Republican Brethren elsewhere in any force. It would, however, be almost as serious a mistake to take these figures as a basis for calculating the numbers for other districts where they are really by no means so great. We shall not be far from a correct estimate if we calculate that the added numbers in the two districts named represent one-half of the sworn soldiers of the "Irish Republic" in Ireland. This would give a total of some 76,000 persons, old and young, who had vowed to make war for an idea; impelled thereto by despair of the disposition of Parliament to consider their demands and redress their grievances. The fact is grave and pregnant; and the more so when we remember with what tenacity of hope these men long clung to the exercise of moral force and to the practice of petitioning for redress. It is not true that Massey has been able to implicate any persons of position in Ireland, or to point to any such as being members of the conspiracy. But on the other hand, it has been in his power to declare that many of the influential classes in Ireland, and a few in England, faintly opposed the movement, simply remarking they regarded its success as not to be expected.

It is very remarkable that Irish Republicans have been supplied from two other secret societies, in all things else furiously opposed to each other—the Orange and the Ribbon brotherhoods. The first of these was originally formed of a violent section of the Colonial Ascendancy party in Ulster, and aimed with some success at centering in themselves the power to rule and legislate for the inhabitants of the northern province. They enjoyed this power to some extent for a considerable time; but of late years they have discovered that the central Government of the Empire is not disposed to allow the usurpation to continue. The Ribbon Society was organized out of the old Irish element for the purpose of resisting the ultimatum offered them to go "to Hell or Connaught," and leave their farms behind. Both these societies long held aloof from the emissaries of Irish Republicanism; but, by carefully excluding the religious element from their discussions, a breach was made in their outworks. It has been several times argued that the Fenians did not care for the destruction of the Church Establishment. The assertion is not altogether without foundation. They considered the retention of the Establishment a trifle when compared with the accession of strength they might obtain by cementing a union with Orangeism; whilst, on the other hand, the fact of its existence was always a crushing argument against the devout Catholic who might be deterred from joining the Brotherhood by clerical censures. The fact that they were denounced

by priests, and did not hesitate in return to repudiate the intermeddling of priests in politics, gave them an additional claim to confidence on the Orange party, who, in consequence of O'Connell's Catholic politics, feared that any repeal of the Union would be made to signify the substitution of Catholic for Protestant ascendancy. Neither did such a strife with their clerical opponents frighten the Ribbonmen; they had long been intimately accustomed to it themselves. The Republican principles of the new Brotherhood commended themselves to both societies, for members of each had friends and relatives who were in the United States, or had returned from that country in improved circumstances. The Irish Republicans urged their point so well that they were able to enrol not a few members of both the hostile leagues; and these have not proved the least efficient of their members. Besides, almost all the Irish American officers who were sent to Ireland were "free and accepted" Masons, a fact which tended still more to extrude the idea of religious discords, and to win sympathy for the society from unexpected quarters.

Most newspaper correspondents who have felt themselves called upon of late years to show cause why the chances of Fenianism in the United States should be regarded with contempt, have fancied the question settled by declaring that the squalor and religion of the Irish emigrants would always separate them from native American sympathy. Passing over the fact that the Irish vote at an election must always be an

influence worth courting, this view, no doubt, had a shade of plausibility about it. But these writers forgot that Fenianism was not merely an Irish or a religious movement: it aimed at the spread of Republican principles, and does not invoke so much the name of "Catholic Ireland" as of the "Irish Republic." Now, by a singular chance, American public opinion had been previously inclined to Ireland by Irishmen who were not Catholics. Whilst the Catholics of Ireland were turning their eyes to France and and Spain, and sending recruits to the *Brigade Irlandaise*, the Protestant cultivators of the soil were watching America and sending emigrants to its shores. The agrarian rising against the exaction of exorbitant rents, which convulsed Ulster shortly after the middle of the last century, having been quelled, a large outflow of the population followed. "So great and wide was the discontent," says a Protestant historian, "that many thousands of Protestants emigrated from these parts of Ulster to the American settlements, where they appeared in arms against the British Government, and contributed powerfully by their zeal and valour to the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain." Thus, the native Americans were prepared, by communion with the sentiments of their co-religionists, to sympathize with Ireland; and this tendency was further promoted by the arrival of distinguished Protestant refugees of 1798, the relations of Tone and Emmet, and others, some of whom soon attained prominent positions and much

influence. Some of the occasional orations of these men, together with certain celebrated speeches of Irish political martyrs, are to be found in the school books put into the hands of American youth, side by side with the masterpieces of their own countrymen. Thus, to a far greater extent than is dreamed of in England, the Americans have come to identify the cause of Ireland with their own. It is true that amongst the multitudes that have poured in upon them from Ireland, there have been not a few mere political adventurers; but the Americans have had too many such of native manufacture to be prejudiced on that account against the people of the country which produced them.

These facts, together with the anti-English sentiments engendered in their several disputes with England, will make the stand-point of the Americans with regard to the Irish more intelligible. The Irish element has lost nothing of its importance in America by having crystallized into a vast and influential organization, wide-spread and animated by one ardent desire. American statesmen have without a doubt neither frowned it down, nor discountenanced it. They have given it the benefit of their sympathy, and have not forbidden the sale of army-material at a nominal rate, even although it might possibly pass into the hands of its agents. American officers, of Irish extraction perhaps, but of high position, have not refused the promise of their support if they could see their way clear; nor have American merchants shown

any repugnance to supply the sinews of war in case of a real emergency. Whilst Massey's information is of gravity as making the Government officially cognisant of some of these points, it does not suggest any facile and peremptory remedy. The American Government would not be at all embarrassed by a demand for explanations. They have been piqued at the inefficiency of their efforts with regard to the Alabama claims, and this feeling would combine with reasons of home policy to mitigate their dislike of a rupture with Great Britain.

If we turn from America and consider Fenianism in its European relations, we shall find that, for the first time in history, the Irish have managed to weld a solid link between themselves and the extreme popular party on the Continent. Thus Ireland, which was long regarded as a sort of Catholic commonplace to be used against England, and which did not in consequence obtain the sympathy of the democratic masses, has now acquired another foothold. The originators of Fenianism were men who had been previously initiated into a certain great revolutionary fraternity, and had even been promoted to a high place in its councils. They have had the advice and sympathy of experienced Continental organisers in the formation of the Irish Republican Society, and would have likewise their support and co-operation under certain eventualities. There are even those on the Continent of Europe who belong to neither of the classes mentioned, and yet would not greatly regret the agitation

of such a movement nor its effect in lowering the prestige of England.

But whilst many of the facts we have mentioned or alluded to have influenced the decision of the Government in this matter, it cannot be doubted that the disclosures made touching the extent of the conspiracy, and the sympathy felt for it nearer home, even among those on whom it was thought reliance might be placed to repel its progress, have had quite as much to do with the suppression of Massey's informations as the fear of embroiling the country with foreign governments.

HOW TO DEAL WITH FENIANISM.

THE surprise occasioned by the recent Fenian outbreak at Manchester is not a hopeful symptom. It indicates a want of acquaintance with the actual position of affairs, which promises ill for the immediate future. It is a repetition, on a small scale, of the mistake which was made by so many of the Northern politicians during the American civil war, and which gives their speeches such a ludicrous appearance, when they are read by the light of events. At every capture of a prominent Fenian, at every attempt at revolt which has been put down, at every trial where a batch of political prisoners has been consigned to penal servitude, the same story has been repeated. The "neck of the rebellion" has been broken several times; "the bubble has burst" more than once. The thought has been merely the offspring of the wish. Men have been anxious to accept any view that could plausibly relieve them from the duty of studying what might reveal painful objects, and make action necessary. But the oftener the neck

of the rebellion has been broken, the more clearly it has been shown to be hydra-headed; and the more frequently the bubble has burst, the more palpable it has become that those causes remain which can send other like bubbles to the surface from the fermenting elements beneath.

As a specimen of the superficial views with which men content themselves till their satisfaction is rudely disturbed, we may take Lord Dufferin's statement, in his Presidential Address to the Social Science Congress at Belfast, that Fenianism is the offspring of agitation. As a matter of plain fact, which might be known by any one who took the trouble to study the question, Fenianism can claim no such parentage. When its organization was first developed through the country, there was no agitation, as it is called, going on. By agitation is meant in Ireland the public efforts of those who seek, by petition and other peaceful modes of Constitutional action, the redress of what they consider grievances. As in Ireland a small section of the population long enjoyed all the benefits that make life agreeable, the movement of the excluded millions to obtain, first a small, and then a fair, share of them, was always particularly obnoxious to the minority. This is a state of things which must be expected to continue until a just equality of of rights is reached; and Lord Dufferin will hardly stave off the advancing tide by showing that, in consequence of "the folly of a knot of agitators," the difference in the rate of interest, "between a first

charge on an Irish property and that on a landed estate in England is gradually rising to more than one per cent." Fenianism and agitation seek their ends by opposite means, and are unfriendly to each other. It is evident that if the masses in Ireland were at any time given up to agitation—that is, devoted to seeking from parliamentary action the redress of the evils they complain of—there would be no room amongst them for Fenianism, since the latter is essentially hostile to appeals to what it considers an alien and inimical Legislature. It is not to agitation, but to the death of agitation, that Fenianism owes its being. If the millions sought for redress from the Legislature for grievances which the Legislature admitted to be such, and if after seeing Parliament admit these grievances they found that, in spite of many fervent professions, nothing practical was done, is it to be wondered at that they despaired of parliamentary redress? Despair of legislative action gives the death-blow to agitation which is fed by a hope of it; and despair of peaceful petitioning opens the way for the contemplation of the last resource of peoples. The Tenant League agitation had been extinguished; its chiefs had retired into private life, exiled themselves in despair, or died with disappointed hopes; the nation had fallen into an apparent apathy, upon which the dominant party triumphantly congratulated themselves. And then Fenianism began. A little leaven —a few years—and the material so well prepared by hands which kneaded for other ends has been leavened

throughout. Those who abhor agitation for fear it should wrest some privilege from themselves, or conquer some long-lost right for the majority of their countrymen, should learn that its suppression must be followed by conspiracy, so long as the grievances it springs from remain, and a people remains to feel them. Despair is not contentment. When a wound is no longer complained of, it is often because gangrene has set in.

The same superficial spirit which has misapprehended the origin of Fenianism has likewise misunderstood its powers of existence, and made men unable to conceive a wise or efficient method of dealing with it. Judging it by what they have seen of other movemets, those who are under the influence of this spirit, have fancied that the vitality of Fenianism depended upon the influential action of one or two persons. They have argued falsely, but after a popular method, that the Irish are such hero-worshippers and so devoted to their leaders that the life of the movement would last only so long as the chiefs were at liberty to act. These chiefs have been regarded, also, as actuated only by base and selfish motives; and it has been held that if the eyes of their dupes could be once opened to their iniquity, the whole affair would collapse. Yet we have seen leader after leader discarded, and the two founders whose assistance was supposed absolutely essential—Stephens and O'Mahony—excommunicated and disgraced; whilst the association still survives, and even flourishes. Manifest mis-

takes have been made by the chiefs, and detected by the rank and file; accusations of dishonesty have been bandied about against prominent officials; informers have cropped up as plentifully as could have been expected; but none of these things, nor all of them combined, have been sufficient to annihilate the association. One reason for this may doubtless be found in the republican and democratic form assumed by the brotherhood. Its mode of government is not from above downwards, but from beneath upwards. Its root cannot be severed at a single stroke, for it does not spring from one or two principal men, but arises by some thousands of inconspicuous rootlets. We must bear in mind that it has been fully organized; and that by the organization given it, the vitality of the association has not been centralized in one part, but developed around innumerable local centres, carefully linked together. Some of the chiefs may be captured, few or many; but that does not disorganise the Society; the "circles" can elect new "centres"; and new "head-centres" can be chosen to replace the old. So long as the broad basis of the rank and file exists, so long can it raise up the pyramid of officers. To sweep off the most prominent men, therefore, is not to destroy the association; to have been misled into thinking the contrary, shows that the reality of things has not been understood.

It has been remarked that the Irish Republican Society is not equal, as far as regards social status, with certain organizations which preceded it; and here is another reason why Fenianism is so

hard to kill. One of the higher animals, where the nerve-material is gathered into one chief centre, is easily stricken dead by a blow upon it; but how is it with a polyp? A thousand individuals or centres of vitality are combined together in a common polypdom; the mass may be cut and severed into many pieces, but life endures none the less, and with it the power of retrieving losses. Thus it is vain to dream that the detention of some of its chiefs, and the flight of others, have had any greater effect than to mar somewhat the working of the Society, to decapitate some circles, to isolate others, and to disorganize a few of the weakest. These things are not irretrievable. They are such as to cause delay, but not despair. And it must also be borne in mind that the half of the Society beyond the Atlantic has all along remained fully organized and hopeful.

These are facts which must be faced when the question how to deal with Fenianism is considered. There are people who appear to fancy that rigorous measures have not yet been tried, and who exclaim that no further hope of obtaining the Queen's mercy must be allowed to exist. If they think that any exercise of mercy heretofore has helped to stave off the dissolution of the Society in Ireland, they err. It is a fact that the Irish Tories did not more desire the execution of some of the political prisoners than did many of the Fenians themselves. The letter of President Roberts to a prisoner in the Canadian gaol, condoling with him on having received a respite, may be accepted as

a token of this feeling. If the association were on the point of expiring, an execution of political prisoners, so far from hastening its death, would make every ramification of it tingle and glow with renewed life and vigour. The Irish are not cowards; nor when their feelings are once engaged do they stop to calculate the cost. Long years of experience should at least have taught us this—that by a system of penal rule we gain nothing but undying resistance and perpetual hostility. There is indeed no need to theorize on this subject. It is a fact that the Irish State Trials, so far from awing the population, won for the prisoners an amount of sympathy which they never received when they were free to act. And it is no less the fact that deaths—the deaths of those who were killed in affrays with the military and constabulary—have had by no means that deterrent effect which the advocates of rigorous measures think they ought to have. Men who have served through the American campaign are less repelled by fear of death than by dread of prison life; and the same rule holds with those of their kith and kin who have joined the republican ranks in Ireland.

Besides, a severe policy, useless at home because of the democratic form of the organization, would be worse than useless when considered with regard to foreign affairs. It would at once raise Fenianism in America and elsewhere to a pitch of prosperity which it has not hitherto attained, and give it, together with a new lease of life, a more favourable position in the

eyes of the Americans. As it is, things go well with it in the United States, as far as popularity is concerned. It has done good service to the dominant Republican party, and several of the leaders of that party have openly avowed themselves well disposed to it. Moreover, the Fenians themselves are working to effect a union of the two sections into which they are divided, and have appointed delegates to confer with each other. The meeting of the Congress of what once was the O'Mahony wing has elected a President, whose avowed aim is to effect a reconciliation. This idea seems to find equal favour on the other side; for the Congress of the Roberts wing has accepted the advances made to it. And the result of the Conference has been an arrangement for completing the union of both sections with the Irish Republicans in the British dominions.

Whilst these preparations are taking place, it is of interest to note that General Spear, an experienced American officer, reports that the army of the Roberts wing in the United States amounts to 9,300 enlisted men, and that they possess nearly 20,000 rifles, 16,500 sets of accoutrements, and 120,000 rounds of ammunition. The other wing, now presided over by Mr. Savage, is declared to own 15,000 stand of arms, as many sabres, a large quantity of ammunition, and one vessel. One result of the Cleveland Congress is that the Roberts section have pledged themselves to raise £50,000 for the purposes of the association. It has been resolved to appoint four military organizers and an

inspector-general, and to train and equip ten batteries of field artillery, three cavalry regiments of ten companies each, and two light batteries, mounted to go with the cavalry. The members of the association are directed to waste no more money on flags or trappings, on the ground that every available dollar should be spent on arms and ammunition. The association in Ireland, according to the message of President Roberts, are eager on the subject, and only want the co-operation of the Irish-Americans, but will not rise again till an army fully equipped and armed stands on Irish soil to assist them. In Ireland the Fenians had for some time discontinued the provisional government in its functions, and left to Colonel Kelly the duties of "Head Executive of the Irish Republic." Hence the determined resistance shown to his capture in Manchester. In all the great centres of England, Wales, and Scotland the association is much stronger than would be readily supposed. The Irish support it in larger proportion than at home; and there is also an English Republican Brotherhood to countenance and assist it.

The true way of dealing with Fenianism is to detach the popular sympathies from it; and this can only be done by effecting a complete change in the condition and government of Ireland.

THE EFFECT OF THE FENIAN EXECUTIONS.

WHEN a funeral procession was organized in London the day after the executions at Manchester, a consoling comparison was immediately instituted between the activity of the Irish in England and the apathy of the Irish at home. Fenian sympathies manifested themselves, it was said, where their presence was least to be dreaded; they were quiet where they had been thought most formidable. The history of the next fortnight showed the amount of reliance to be placed on this optimist conclusion. The streets of Dublin have been thronged with a procession largely recruited from the respectable ranks, and composed of persons of various creeds, contented to sink the differences by which Irishmen are so often divided in a common homage to national sentiment. The number of those who actually took part in it was very large—the most competent judges fixing it at 25,000, while other authorities, not all friendly, estimate it at from 30,000 to 40,000. Even the highest of these figures by no

means represents the amount of interest called forth in the city. An immense proportion of the spectators wore the funeral colours, and many persons were seen with them at the windows even of houses of the better class. Much of this feeling would probably have led to a more active participation in the ceremony if the weather had not been cold and wet to a degree unusual even in December. One remarkable feature was the presence of about 2,000 children of both sexes, so young that they must have been sent there by, or at any rate with the consent of, their parents. This is a proof that the sympathy, instead of being confined to men who are very young or very reckless, extends to fathers of families, to men who in sacrificing the comfort and risking the health of their children by sending them to stand for hours in the mud in preparation for a walk of six miles through driving sleet, could have had no motive except the desire to identify them with the cause to which they are themselves attached. Perhaps this fact is even more significant than the numbers, or the military bearing, of well-dressed young men who attended. In Limerick again there was a procession, smaller indeed in actual magnitude, but larger in proportion to the population —10,000 in a city of 44,500. Equally representative demonstrations have been made in most of the cities and principal towns of Ireland; and if Belfast is excepted from the list, it must be remembered that a procession almost rivalling that at Dublin in size lately followed the body of a Fenian prisoner who had died in gaol.

Clearly then the strange belief that the executions would have a deterrent effect on the Irish people has not been justified by the result. Those who held it can scarcely have made sufficient allowance for difference of circumstances and character. To the prosperous, well-to-do man, with no very strong religious convictions death is doubtless a thing to shudder at. He prefers, naturally enough, the comfortable realities of the present to the cold uncertainty of an unknown future. It does not follow that the poor man, to whom life is a hard struggle, and the glories of the future a vivid reality, will equally shrink from the portal of that brighter existence. The ordinary teaching of the Catholic Church has given to the world beyond the grave a distinctness of which the mass of Protestants have little conception; and the outlines thus drawn have been filled up yet more minutely by popular tradition. On a nation at once Catholic and unprosperous this fact is calculated to have an effect which may easily be overlooked by those who are strangers to both conditions. The argument for a vigorous policy of repression in the case of Fenianism, sometimes deduced from the success of the O'Connell prosecutions, shows an equal misconception of Irish affairs. The conditions of the two movements are wholly antagonistic. O'Connell's weapon was "moral force;" his agitation was orderly or it was nothing. An adverse verdict cut the ground from under him. A party which professed respect for the Constitution and the law had no *locus standi* left it when the

highest legal authorities had pronounced its policy unconstitutional. And the result of the O'Connell trial was as much a triumph for the party of action as for the party of order. After Mr. Mitchel had been convicted, he reminded the Government of his previous declaration that he would compel them to treat Ireland as a conquered country. The Young Ireland policy of that day expressly aimed at provoking an evident collision between the Government and the people, in order that the latter might unlearn all that O'Connell had taught them, might abandon Constitutional action in despair of Parliamentary redress, and might brood in secret over the counsel: "una salus victis nullam sperare salutem." It took longer than Mr. Mitchel expected for the mass of the people, whom his journal did not reach, to forget the living lesson of O'Connell's presence; but in a new generation, educated by schools, by the Temperance movement, by the famine, by emigration, and above all by foreign military service, the seed found a congenial soil, and bore its natural fruit in Fenianism.

In this connection the view of the recent executions taken in the French and American press is not without importance. On the Continent Fenianism has until lately been regarded merely as a curiosity. After the Manchester executions, however, a new tone has been adopted by journalists; and two powerful motives will probably prevent its being speedily changed. The reactionists, so often troubled by English censure and by the contrast, pointed by domestic opponents, between

foreign absolutism and English Constitutionalism, eagerly catch at the opportunity of silencing their Liberal adversaries with the argument that even in England the scaffold has been found necessary to the maintenance of authority. A large part of the Liberal party, recognizing the advantage thus gained by its foes, is angry because it can no longer refer with undiminished confidence to the example of England. And the more advanced Democrats, who insist on separating the English people from their Government, declaim with increased severity against the aristocracy as an enemy to freedom. Strangely enough two ancient foes, one the fervent admirer of England, the other the fervent admirer of absolutism, M. Prevost Paradol and M. Louis Veuillot, find themselves on this question in the same minority. M. Paradol detests Fenianism because it is in conflict with his constitutional ideal; M. Veuillot because he identifies it with revolutionary infidelity. But, with such exceptions, the more popular and the more influential papers incline to the opposite opinion, and express it with various degrees of intensity, until in the *Courrier Français* the feeling becomes so fierce that the words in the Queen's Speech which characterize Fenianism as "organized outrage and assassination" are actually applied to the English Government in connection with the Manchester executions. On the American press the effect has been of the same kind. Independently of the late occurrences, some of the Catholic religious papers, which at one time made a firm stand against

Fenianism, appear to have found it too strong for them, and have either dropped the subject altogether or refer to it at very rare intervals. Others have openly deserted their original standard, and become ardent supporters of the cause they once opposed. No new Irish-American paper is started—and several have recently appeared—which is not openly and avowedly Fenian. And now, what is more directly to the point, the papers not hostile to England—a small fraction indeed since the Civil War—have been almost unanimous in denouncing the executions. They have all a common interest in asserting the superiority of the United States to Great Britain in point of lenity—while the less scrupulous journals have a special interest to outbid each other in the violence of their declamations, in the hope of attracting the Irish vote to the party to which they severally belong.

In itself this expression of hostile opinion may be a small matter. These utterances of the foreign press, however, must be taken into account in estimating the force of Irish feeling. Extracts, embodying all the strongest passages, are sure to be circulated throughout Ireland; and the belief, exaggerated though it may be, in French and American sympathy, can hardly fail to exert a powerful influence on an impassioned and excited people. Even without this stimulus the change of opinion in Ireland during the last two years has been remarkable enough to arrest the attention of every thoughtful politician. In 1865 the attitude of the great mass of the popula-

tion towards the Fenians was one of incredulous impatience. They were anathematized from the altars: they were absolutely without influence in the country. Two years of repression without any redress of the grievances acknowledged by every Liberal statesman have disarmed the bulk of indigenous opposition to Fenianism, and gone far to identify the movement in popular estimation with the cause of the nation at large. And most momentous of all has been the change during the weeks which followed the executions at Manchester.

Men who had hitherto been firm believers in the sufficiency of those measures of remedial legislation, which have been so long discussed and evaded, have now lost faith in their effect; and it has become a question no longer merely whether the Church Establishment must be abolished and the position of the tenant class secured, but whether even these concessions of justice will bring healing in their train, unless they are combined with some positive step towards organization and development of the national life of Ireland.

CELTIC LAND-TENURE.

EVERY writer on the Irish land-question from Spenser to the most recent pamphleteer, if he has referred at all to the system of land-tenure under the ancient chiefs, has declared that in those days the tenant paid no fixed rent. The picture, though painted by different pens and for purposes the most opposite, has been essentially the same. The tenant, we have been told, wandered with his flocks and herds wherever he would, from valley to mountain pasture; the lands were, almost without exception, held in common, whether pasture or tillage; the chief did not receive, nor would the tenant yield, any fixed and certain rent. The former, however, could go and billet himself and his followers on the tenant; and the latter, who would refuse giving any certain tribute, was quite content to live under this system of "coshering" to welcome all uncertain exactions, and to take for his motto "Spend me, but Defend me," as Spenser says. The inferences drawn from the fact of such a state of things having existed varied, of course, with the pre-

judices of the commentator. But it appears to have been most frequently referred to as furnishing ground for arguments such as this:—The Irish tenant as a matter of fact, has no real grievances which an impartial observer could regard as such. What afflicts him and makes him always ill at ease is the traditionary sentiment that his forefathers paid no rent for the farm he holds, and that rent, therefore, is an oppressive novelty. He is still beset by the old desire to regard the land as a sort of commonage, where he can squat or settle at will, without having any rent to pay. He will not object, however, to be "spent" by his landlord. On the contrary, this is exactly what he likes, because it harmonizes with all his traditions. He will be delighted if he is allowed to send up to the "Great House" the best of his produce and poultry; to draw off his horses and carts from his own work to get in "the master's" potatos or bring home "the master's" corn; and he will feel it a personal favour if he is permitted to half-ruin himself in lavish entertainments to the young master, or in food for his horse and hounds. But do not expect him to feel that he is under any obligation to pay his rent on quarter-day. In point of fact, he prefers the old system of "coshering" and uncertain exactions; and much of what we hear now about "compensation for improvement" has been invented for him by agitators. Those in England who take up the cry do not understand the Celtic peculiarities of the Irish people.

This theory is plausible, but without any basis of

fact. There are two radical mistakes in it which destroy it as an argument: it is not true that the Celtic tenant paid no fixed rent, and it is equally erroneous to fancy that he regarded his chieftain as an absolute master. According to the provisions of the native laws which ruled the larger portion of Ireland until the plantation of King James I., the chief was essentially a limited and constitutional prince. It was not at all a maxim of the Brehon law that a king could do no wrong; on the contrary, as the people had power to select him, they had power likewise to depose him on cause shown. As a king he, indeed, "excelled in testimony," and his decision prevailed against all classes, with two exceptions. There were two orders which took an equal rank with royalty; the order of learning as represented by a doctor of laws, and the order of religion as represented by a bishop. These being the king's equals acted as a check upon his executive power. The code which ruled Ireland from the fifth to the seventeenth century was compiled and confirmed in a council composed of three kings, three bishops, and three doctors learned in the law. It was a code of checks and counter-checks, which, by the precision of its language and the minuteness of its details, seemed to provide for every possible emergency. It specified the rights, duties, perquisites, and privileges of all classes and conditions of men, and was of such authority that no judge could abrogate any portion of it. Such a code may have tended occasionally to promote litigiousness, but it prevented usurpation,

and must have moulded the people into a nation essentially loyal in the strict sense of that word, that is, law-abiding. This it is which accounts for the declaration of King James's Attorney-General in Ireland, that no people under the sun loved equal and impartial justice better than the Irish. If it is objected that in a rude, or indeed in a civilized, state of society, power sometimes over-rides the provisions of the law makers, we should recollect that in Ireland the laws had the guarantee of the Church, and the Church was strong in the faith of the people. Instead of a monarchy there was a trinity of powers, each of which had a representative in the smallest sub-division of the land, and the right of the people was recognized to elect their future ruler, who should act as Tanist or coadjutor to their chief during his lifetime. In fact, the tendency was the reverse of despotic, and one of the chief causes of the instability of the system was the weakness of the central government, which was unable at all times to enforce its decrees. The country was never more peaceful and prosperous than when a wise usurper, as King Brian has been termed, assumed the reins of power and made his strong hand felt in the government.

Taking these things into consideration, we shall find that the chieftain of a territory was neither a master as the word is here defined, nor a landlord with unlimited power to evict, as the term signifies at present in Ireland. He was chosen by the tribe as their principal or agent for certain purposes, and they endowed

him with certain prerogatives. They could depose him for what the law defined as false judgment, and the office did not lapse as of right to his eldest son, or to any of his children. He was a prince of the Irish, a "chieftain of the men of Erinn," but not a lord of the soil, as now understood, with a right of ownership in the land so absolute as to mean occasionally, supreme mastery over the lives and fortunes of its inhabitants. Whichever of the clan had a complaint against him might sue him, and if he evaded the issue, might, in proper form, and with a law agent as witness, distrain his cattle, which would be impounded, and after a few days' grace become forfeited, unless the decree were satisfied.

But although their rule was limited and strictly defined there yet were landlords, sub-chiefs, who inherited and let lands in Celtic Erinn. To fancy that all the landed property was held in common and redistributed at the deaths of the holders is an absurd and vulgar error. There was indeed land set apart in commons as amongst other nations, but this was only a fraction of the tribe lands. On other portions were to be distinguished the two classes of limited landlords and their tenantry. Tenants were of two kinds—the free-tenant and the base-tenant: beneath these was the labourer, who was a bondman, generally a foreigner, and not unusually an Anglo-Saxon. Instead of there being no rent, as popularly imagined, there were three kinds of rent. One of these was known as the wearisome or rack-rent, and was exacted from a person of a stranger

tribe; another was termed the not-painful or light rent which was that yielded by members of the clan themselves; and the third was the stipulated rent which might be agreed upon either with clansmen or with strangers. This mention of aliens, indicates that the Irish Celts were never exclusive nationalists, in the narrow sense of the word; not a few Norsemen and others are named in their ancient records as having settled amongst them amicably. Of the classes mentioned, the labourer was the worst off. Being a serf or bondman, if he got into debt a fetter might be placed on his foot or a chain around his neck, and he could be imprisoned and kept on spare diet until his chief would guarantee to pay the debt. If not redeemed within a stated time, he might become forfeited, like other chattels. The contract of the labourer without sanction of his chief was as invalid as the contract of the base-tenant of abbey lands without his abbot's consent, or the contract without the father's consent of a son who was a minor, or "not emancipated." But then the labourer was allowed to keep cattle, and it was a disputed point whether or not these could be distrained. He could, however, like any other foreigner, having got a native to back him, sue his master, and could distrain, always provided that he did it in due form and with a law agent present as a witness. If, indeed, the master evaded pleading, even an informal distress was excused, it being agreed that he who sought to elude his contract should suffer for it and his bondman go free. The

system of bondage did not disappear from Ireland until the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion; and then its termination was effected by the action of the Council of Armagh in 1171. Giraldus Cambrensis relates that the Irish clergy agreed to regard this invasion as a sort of divine chastisement for having purchased English persons for slaves, who had been sold either by pirates, or traders, or even by their parents; for, he adds, "Communi gentis vitio, liberos suos venales exponere et priusquam inopiam ullam aut inediam sustinerent filios proprios et cognatos in Hiberniam vendere consueverant." He is speaking of the Anglo-Saxons, for whom as a Welshman he had a lofty contempt; but it is possible that in later days, at all events, they thought their sons would suffer as little hardship among the Celts as under their Norman task-masters. The Celtic chiefs and Anglo-Saxon lords had not been without many ties between them. But in directing the emancipation of all slaves, the Council of Armagh only followed the example set by the Council of London in 1107, which had proscribed the traffic as fraught with many evils.

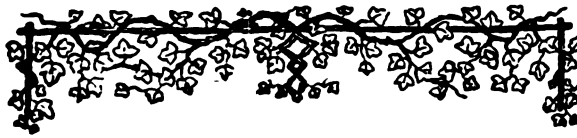
Turning from the labourers to the tenants, we shall find that the latter, besides paying their rent, had certain duties to perform, which might indeed vary in amount with circumstances, but which were pretty strictly defined. Generally speaking, they had to yield military and civil services; the head of every family of the lay-grades went out with his chief to do battle—at any time if called upon to repel an incur-

sion; at stated periods if the war were for other purposes, all which purposes were described in the laws. They were likewise to perform such civil duties as the making and repairing of roads, bye-roads, forts, and fences, especially those fences which divided pasture from grain land. The duties of the base-tenant were the more severe in all things; every seventh day he was obliged to go to the chase of wolf or pirate, and every third day in harvest he had to turn out to keep off aggressors. He had food-tribute also to pay; but then it must be remarked that the chief stocked his farm for him, which of course placed him in a different position from that held by a free-tenant. Finally, the tenants had to furnish stated materials to keep up the good name of their chieftain's occasional entertainments, and to supply him with a band of reapers to reap his corn, and men to build his tomb. As a counterpoise to these duties, it must be remembered that the chief had many things to do besides leading the clan to battle. He had, for instance, to attend in the councils where interterritorial laws and regulations were arranged; he had to watch over the reserved land of the tribe, and see that its proceeds were properly distributed for providing the sick with physicians, the poor with food, the aged and incurable with sustenance and shelter. There were commonages both of pasture lands and of tillage; but that the lands of the tenants were not held in common is evident from the fact that one tenant could sell his farm to another. There was regulations duly made for enfor-

cing distress in cases of non-payment of rent (another fact which tells against the popular theory), but there does not seem to have been any provision for evictions. In those days a district was never cleared of its human inhabitants by process of ejectment. There was one case, indeed, in which the tenant forfeited his land, but this was an exception which proves the rule; it was not for non-payment of rent, but for not conforming to the dictates of humanity—for neglecting to provide for the support of the aged members of his family.

Observers have sometimes been puzzled how it happens that the Irish peasantry are at the same time fond of democratic institutions, and yet somewhat aristocratic in their instincts. The reason is evident from the conditions under which they lived. Their system of government allowed the people a prominent position in the making and sustaining of the laws, and thus gave them, no doubt, that inclination for democratic institutions which close students have remarked. On the other hand, there was a stratum of bondage beneath them, and this, of course, had a tendency to make them somewhat aristocratic, and to give them a Norman contempt for clowns and churls. As we have said, their loyalty consisted in being law-abiding rather than in servility, although they were not devoid of the personal loyalty which is yielded on account of ties of consanguinity. With such a system to mould them it is easy to imagine how bitterly they would dislike the change which, for an elective chief-

tain, gave them an absolute lord, suppressed their constitutional checks of judge and priest, and concentrated in the hands of one master the power to create tenures, to evict, and to pass judgment as it seemed best for his own interests. The Irish do not appear to have ever contemplated making a stand as a nation against the English invasion until they began to be aware of these usurpations of power to which they would have to submit under the new régime.



DEVELOPMENT OF LANDLORDISM.

THE period of Irish history which extends from the Anglo-Norman invasion to the passing of the Catholic Relief Act was marked by the endeavour to intrude and maintain in the island certain alien systems of land-tenure. The welfare and wants of the majority of the people were scarcely considered at all in the questions of contract, but as a rule evictions were unknown except those made by the sword of civil strife. The spirit of the new tenures was essentially feudal; and the feudal notable having his tenants as vassals found them useful, because obedient in all things. His quarrel was not with them, but with some rival against whom he could lead them on occasion. His interest therefore was rather to keep up their numbers than to diminish them. The sword did that sufficiently. It is true that petty wars were not publicly declared throughout the latter portion of the period, but it is equally certain that they prevailed, under a slight disguise. The faction-fights of which we have heard so much, were fostered and encouraged.

It was long the custom for the sons of the Irish gentry to organise factions, and, placing themselves at their head, lead them on to sanguinary frays at the appointed fair or market. That these faction-fights are attributable to ancient tribal jealousies is a theory difficult to reconcile with the fact that their leaders were generally alien in blood and in religion, and that the proprietorial magistrates were disposed to encourage the strife, and to inflict mere nominal penalties on those who were captured. Nothing of all this was known in England. These magnates had the story in their own telling, and they did not lose the opportunity of magnifying their importance to the State by misrepresenting the people amongst whom they lived, and exaggerating their own courage and capacity. They had their reward in many ways. They were long regarded as the only persons fit to rule the country, and were allowed full freedom to rule it as they liked. Through their compact ranks the voice of the people never reached the central authority. Here we have in a nutshell the social history of Ireland for the period in question ; and it may be worth while to give a single corroborative illustration taken from the close of the period. When Mr. Howley, afterwards Sir John Howley, was appointed Chairman of the county of Tipperary, faction-fighting was the rule. In the discharge of his duties he succeeded in repressing it, and received a letter of thanks for the success of his exertions from King William IV. Yet what is the record which he has left with refer-

ence to the cause of this civil strife? "The greater number of the magistrates," he says, "instead of assisting me, as I had a right to expect, in the praiseworthy and humane effort to put down faction-fighting, did everything they safely could to thwart me, and thereby keep alive this shameful, detestable custom." As a proof he relates that at the first Quarter Sessions at which he presided in Nenagh, a farmer's son who had committed a frightful murder at a faction-fight was returned for trial for manslaughter merely. But this was not all. The jury, after a short delay, found a verdict of guilty, and Mr. Howley was about to pronounce sentence, when one of the magistrates who crowded the bench requested him to confer with them. "I turned round to speak to them," he says, "and you may guess my astonishment when I heard them all urge the necessity of inflicting on the man convicted of aggravated manslaughter only a mere nominal punishment. When I asked what they meant by 'necessity,' they frankly declared they could not live in the country unless the system of faction-fighting were kept up, as they believed it was necessary for their own safety to have the people divided." He refused to accede to their wishes, and these Protestant-ascendancy magistrates first threatened to move him out of the chair, and then, finding that he was resolved publicly to expose them in such a case, they desisted, but seceded in a body from the bench.

Of course the real object of these men was to make the Government of Ireland appear impossible unless

administered by persons like themselves, who "knew the country"—to place the masses of the people in a false position, and to prevent them from thinking on their own grievances as tenants. As for the question of personal safety, it could scarcely be supposed that they would be safer in the midst of hostile bands than amongst a peaceful population. This is the secret of most of the disturbances of Ireland. The country was at various times portioned out amongst adventurers from the neighbouring island, who in these days would be called fillibusters. They found themselves entrusted with exceptional powers for the pacification of their districts; but, soon perceiving that peace would not be best for their personal interests and aggrandizement, they became fomenters of anarchy. They opposed the extension of English laws to their Irish neighbours. Those of the latter who were unable to maintain their independence found themselves deprived of their own Brehon laws, and denied the protection of the laws of England. In the reign of Edward I., it is related that 8,000 marks were offered to the King, through the chief Governor, Ufford, provided he would extend the English laws to the Irish people. The King himself was not indisposed to accede to the application, but his views were thwarted by the rapacity of his servants in Ireland. So notorious was the character of these feudal colonists, so greatly had it degenerated from that of their kin who lived under the dominion of the law in England, that the Irish themselves remarked and commented on the differ-

ence. In the Remonstrance addressed by them to Pope John XXII., they say, pointing out that the conditions of the Papal Bull were violated :—" Where they ought to have established virtue, they have done exactly the contrary, they have exterminated our native virtues and replaced them by abominable vices. For the English who inhabit our island, and call themselves a middle nation (between English and Irish), are so different in their morals from the English of England that they can with the greatest propriety be styled not a nation of middling, but of extreme perfidiousness." According to the evidence of the Attorney-General of James I. all this was quite true. He reprobated it strongly. For, he said, as long as the Irish were out of the protection of the law, so that every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without controlment, how was it possible that they could be other than outlaws and enemies to the crown of England? Whatever good disposition was shown by the English monarch was intercepted by this middle nation of Anglo-Irish ; whatever ill-intent the monarch entertained was encouraged and carried out by them with many aggravating circumstances. King John had a code of English laws deposited in the exchequer of Dublin under the king's seal " for the common benefit of the nation." Henry III. sent over a duplicate of the Great Charter. The Anglo-Irish kept these for their own enjoyment. When, on the other hand, the king's mind was disposed to severity, they forged plots and treasons in

order to get the territory ruled over by some Irish chief declared forfeit and partitioned out among themselves. To this was added the invitation of some of the principal Irish to a feast, which would terminate in their massacre, and the hiring of assassins to proceed into the Irish country to dispatch an O'Neill, or it might be a revolted Earl of Desmond. For many of the early settlers were rude swordsmen indeed, but not false friends; when as open foes they had carved out estates for themselves, they cultivated friendship with their Celtic neighbours, and took their part against the greed of meaner men. Afflicted by the grasping avarice of reckless adventurers, the country could prosper neither in its Irish nor its English divisions. Inroads and forays were of frequent occurrence. The crops of the clans were destroyed by harrows made for the purpose; and plans were rife for extenuating their opposition by the medium of famines thus artificially created.

Whilst these efforts were made to break up the Irish, and to obtain possession of their lands, there was still no cause for them to envy the state of the humbler classes under the sway of the Anglo-Irish nobles. The condition of these was, indeed, pitiable. Sir John Davies, writing in the reign of James I., declares that few, if any, secure tenures had been granted; that the mass of the tenants were kept as mere tenants at will, or tenants in villenage, and oppressed by many exactions. English colonists had been invited over to cultivate the land, and carry on their arts and

industries; they soon fled back in large numbers to their own country in disgust. They found that in Ireland they would have to submit to a rapacious system of coyne and liverie, which consisted in taking of man's meat and horse's meat, and money, from all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier. Under such a system the people were made idle because they knew that they were not secure of enjoying the fruit of their toil. They might sow, but another would reap. It was to put an end to such a condition of things that King James I. designed his plantation, from the benefits of which it was not intended to exclude all the Irish. His aim was to plant the land with a resident proprietary responsible to the State, having in gradation under each of its members a certain number of fee-farmers, leaseholders, husbandmen, and artificers, residing in castles, fortified bawns, and villages. It was provided that there should be no cabins, and no tenants-at-will. Although this civil plantation has generally been called "the plantation of Ulster," it was not confined to that province, but extended to several counties in other provinces. In many of these a custom of tenant-right, similar to what is known as the Ulster custom, still exists. Whatever injury such a plantation might have done the native population, it ought to have created a respectable yeomanry and an independent tenantry; but it unfortunately happened that the large proprietors no sooner got possession of their estates than they began to evade the conditions

under which they received them. Many of the English and inland Scottish settlers murmured and complained to the King's commissioner, but the landlords too frequently found it possible to invent excuses, and, whether these were accepted or not, to continue the practice. They had a magisterial power also, and, like feudal barons, were not inclined to pay much attention to the murmurs of the villeins. Some of the settlers from Britain returned home when they could, finding that to appeal to the commissioners was labour lost. Their lords would keep them as much as they could in a dependent position, and if the tenants were able to make their right of selling their farms to one another respected, it was because of the insecurity of all property. The disturbed state of Ireland made the landlord too frequently dependent on the support of his tenants to permit of his refusing them certain concessions.

As for the natives who, in the King's plan, were made proprietors likewise, many of them discovered that the commissioners appointed to distribute the lands deprived them by fraud or violence of all or part of the lands reserved for them. The middle nation still stood between the king and the people, and perverted to its own advantage and the benefit of its friends the designs of the king for ameliorating the condition of the Irish people. In one county one-half had been reserved by the king for the old proprietors; they got but little of it. In another, the king thrice overruled the rapacity of his Anglo-Irish offi-

cials; but in the end the latter trumped up a false charge of murder against the confirmed Irish owner, and had him tried by a jury, which the sheriff had carefully packed to secure his conviction. Thus, the obligation to have a tenantry with certain rents instead of uncertain exactions was evaded, and the Celtic population was hindered from enjoying the possessions secured to them by the king. Had the plantation scheme been honestly carried out amongst the Irish, it would, nevertheless, have greatly altered their condition for the worse. A certain number of chiefs, no doubt, might have profited. They would have been transformed from elected ministers of the people into their masters and the lords of their soil. The clan would have been, as it were, uprooted and reduced to a state of vassalage. To this, as it was, the people were depressed, after many vain but desperate struggles: they had to accept whatever terms were offered them; and where their lives had been accounted of so little value, their property-rights were ignored. They knew the soil and how to cultivate it; and they were powerless to resist the heaviest exactions. Thus they were allowed to work even on the lands of their alien taskmasters. In former attempts at plantation the Irish and English had been mingled together: King James allotted separate districts to each. The Irish Privy Council had, indeed, suggested to him to drive all the Irish into the mountainous province of Connaught, but the suggestion was overruled. With all its defects, the system carried out

under King James was superior to the absence of any system but that of lawless extortion which preceded it. The hearts of the people, according to an English observer, were settled to live in peace, raised and encouraged to build, to plant, to give better education to their children, and to improve the commodities of their lands, so that in a few years these doubled in value, and promised to equal those of England. The King's Attorney-General, too, had framed an Act abolishing the distinction of nations, so that the lives and rights of the Irish were now protected, although they laboured under some disabilities. For instance, the Irish proprietor could not purchase land of an English settler, and yet he could only sell to such a one.

But all the fair promises of the system were doomed to extinction by the wars which gave England a Commonwealth, and Ireland a Cromwell. The English of Ireland had mostly sided with the Royalists, and many of the Irish thought the opportunity favourable for winning back their ancient rights. They were not so devoted to Charles but that they gave partisans to the Parliamentarians too. However, Charles betrayed them; and Cromwell, adopting the rejected policy of the Irish Privy Council, drove all the proprietors of three provinces into the mountains of the Western province, and hemmed them in by military settlers. In this fate all the gentry, English or Irish, were involved. The common people were allowed to remain, both because they would be useful

to the new settlers, and because it was hoped they might be made to conform to Puritanism; whilst, at all events, the gentry, compelled to cultivate the ungrateful soil with their own hands, would be reduced to the rank of peasants or die out. All those of the humbler class who had performed any military duty were compelled to fly the three provinces likewise. This devastation was made in order that Cromwell might satisfy the adventurers who advanced money to carry on the war in Ireland, and content the army for their arrears of pay by the grant of lands. It might be expected that the result of this settlement would have been to establish a sturdy yeomanry in the confiscated provinces at least. But we find that the officers were as rapacious as any of their predecessors. They bought up for trifling sums the debentures of their men, who were urged to sell by want of knowledge of husbandry, by their necessitous circumstances, or by "divers aweings" on the part of their superiors. In one case thirty-four soldiers assigned their lots to their ensign for £136; in another a captain obtained the allotments of his troop for a barrel of beer; and sometimes the soldiers coming to settle were shown a desolate bog instead of their fertile allotment, and were glad to give it up for horses to ride off on. To a great extent, the natives were allowed to cultivate the soil, and even encouraged to live sparely on roots, fruit, and milk, in order that they might make the land produce grain which their landlord could appropriate, and out of which he could pay the corn

contributions to which he was liable. They could hardly call their lives their own, much less their labours.

If the Restoration brought some prosperity, and time some healing, the Revolution of 1688 came to renovate the ancient evils, to make new and to re-open old wounds. There, too, was the difference of religion to whet the edge of proscriptions; but the men whose existence was barely recognized were accustomed to scant fare and evil treatment, and could thus afford to give the landlord more rent and less trouble than tenants better favoured by the law. It was therefore the interest of the landlord to replace the latter, wherever they were planted, by more profitable serfs; and when he found that it added to his political importance to have a large number of voters at his beck, he converted these into forty-shilling freeholders, and encouraged their increase upon his estate. Leases were not unusually granted towards the end of this period, but then what kind of leases? Wakefield, writing in 1812, says they were virtually articles by which the small tenants acknowledged their bondage.

Throughout this whole period, over the larger portion of the population of Ireland, the landlord ruled his estate as a feudal despot, with little check from the law; for he did not encourage the King's writ to run in his dominions. He exacted all he could as rent from his serfs, and compelled them to give "duty-work" and "duty-fowl" besides. But, getting his money easily, he spent it lavishly in rude

pleasures on his estate, and not seldom got into debt by his extravagance. No poor man could object to his will, nor would any proprietorial magistrate notice a complaint made against another of his order. If through any spite he did so, he was bound to give a gentleman's satisfaction for the affront. But then the landlord gave some protection to his serfs, though dealing occasionally a severe measure of justice to an enemy's tenant. The protection was given because the tenant was useful, and he was useful, not only in paying rent, but at the poll. When an Irish Spartacus, stirring up the religious passion of the slave, led him on to revolt against his master, this state of things was broken up, and the period we have sketched came to a close.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION AND THE LAND.

It sometimes happens that when English critics dwell on the present state of the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland, they give way to regrets for the happier condition of things in what they call the good old times. Then, they tell us, there was complete identity of interests and community of pleasures: the tenants cherished a dogged fidelity to their lord, who, in spite of his extravagances, was genial and popular, and under all circumstances dear to the heart of the peasant as the old master. This they attribute to the feelings of devotion to the chief, engendered by the system of clanship. But such a theory is based on a defective knowledge of the power of the people under the ancient Celtic system. If the state of affairs described by these writers ever existed, it could only have had its origin and growth under the alien system of feudal landlordism, the introduction of which ousted the Celtic land-tenure from its foothold in the island. And, if we investigate the matter a little, we shall

discover that the sources whence the theory is drawn are comparatively recent, and never referable to the times of native rule. The information it rests on comes from books like Barrington's Memoirs, from novels, the scene of which is laid in the stirring days immediately preceding the Union, or from direct communication with members of the landlord class. The mass of the Irish people do not participate in this yearning for the good old times, the air of which is laden for them with memories of cruel proscriptions, and of exactions which kept them always on the verge of famine.

The upper classes lived riotously and squandered their resources, so as to be seldom out of debt. Their sons followed their example. The offspring of the smallest and most straitened squire must needs have his "bit of blood" in his stable, and money to spend in his drunken orgies. Trade of all kinds was despised, but to cheat a tradesman was not considered disgraceful. If he sought repayment for his goods at his debtor's country-house, he would quickly learn that the king's writ did not run on the estate. The embarrassed gentry hugged the Castle, and recruited their finances in corruption and jobbery. Every powerful family had its faction in the court and legislature; and every office was fought for and filled by their venal and incompetent nominees. One of the Chief Justices of that time was indiscreet enough to keep a private diary, and extracts from it have recently been published. Whilst laying the best plans for

getting advancement for himself, he puts on record his deliberate judgment on what he saw. "The Irish Government," he says, "resembles extremely the state of the Hottentots in Africa. The common Irish, divided, oppressed, pillaged, abused as they are, are the Hottentots; the English administration are the Dutch planters; the followers of the Lord Lieutenant are the bushmen or spies and swindlers; and their wild beasts, lions, tigers, etc., are the Irish satraps." English visitors have confirmed this account in the fullest manner. Arthur Young, writing in 1776, states that the abominable distinction of religion, united with the oppressive conduct of the little country gentlemen, "or rather vermin of the kingdom, who were never out of it, bear very heavy on the poor people, and subject them to situations more mortifying than we ever behold in England." The poor, he adds, are in many cases slaves in the bosom of written liberty. In 1809 Wakefield said that a poor man would be thought a rebel if he did not abandon his own crop to gather in that of his master; and if to this were added the duty fowl, the duty turf, and in short the duty in general, which was only another term for personal service, it would be seen to what a great extent this kind of servitude was carried in Ireland. It was, in fact, a condition of things similar in many respects to that which caused the first French revolution. By means of secret societies, arising for every occasion, and under various names, the peasantry kept up a sort of desultory, defensive warfare. Arthur Young's "ver-

min," however, had a powerful party to support them in Great Britain, where liberalism met them indeed with a protest, but with an ineffectual one. They were allowed to provoke a general insurrection; and Lord Cornwallis, who was sent over to carry the Union, had an opportunity of becoming well acquainted both with their meanness and their cruelty. He longed to kick out of his presence, he says, those who came to him for the wages of corruption; and he was horrified and disgusted by their delight in torture, and their insatiable thirst for the blood of the people. That their slaves should dream of emancipation was held by these men to be ample reason for teaching them a sanguinary lesson, and for giving free scope under the licence of martial law to that tigerish characteristic which Chief Justice Clonmel had remarked in them. But it was to be only a lesson. They did not want to destroy the tenantry altogether, for they were useful in making money for them and in supporting their nominees at the poll. The wars of Napoleon brought a great demand for grain, and the removal of duties on the importation of Irish corn into England helped to render tillage a source of wealth, and consequently to make the retention of a hard-working and frugal tenantry a thing to be desired. But the termination of the war came, and the Catholic Relief Act followed some years after. In consequence of the former event the demand for corn fell; tillage became less profitable; and, as the landlords had the making of the laws altogether in their own hands, they took

the matter into consideration, and provided a remedy. Having encouraged tillage before, they now fancied that pasture would probably pay better; and their next step was to take means to rid themselves of those of the tenant-tillers who might cumber soil fit for pasturage. No time was lost. The following year saw the first Act passed for making evictions more easy by the agency of the Quarter Sessions. The tenants, however, had one thing still in their favour. They were voters; and, in a period of patronage and jobbing, it was important for the landlord to have as many voters at the poll as possible. His political interests served as a check upon his material interests —if we may call those interests political which, on analysis, resolve themselves into very solid and material benefits also. However, there was a certain antagonism such as we indicate, which hindered the ejectments from becoming general.

The Catholic Relief Act brought in another era. The serfs who had borne their bondage uneasily revolted constitutionally; and, against the will and desire of their lords, they returned to represent them in Parliament one of their own race and of their own creed, but not of their own class. O'Connell was one of those Irish Catholics who had little by little obtained the right to hold land as landlords, and who did not represent the by-gone chieftain at any time, but a feudal lord shorn of some privileges and powers. This class of men had interests distinct from those of the cultivators of the soil. They had to fight their way

through penal restrictions and other obstacles to obtain some of the offices of emolument which had before been monopolized by the professors of another creed. They could not bear to see the golden current flow by them untasted; and, even when they sprang from the lower ranks, they made their own people serve as the ladder for their personal advancement, speaking them fair and making them many solemn promises which some broke incontinently when the prize was in their grasp. Something not altogether unlike this occurred with regard to the Relief Act. It was proposed first with two conditions or "wings," one reserving to the Crown the right of veto on the appointment of Catholic Bishops, the other enacting the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders. The stern protest of Dr. Doyle saved the clergy, but no redeeming hand was stretched forth to shield the peasant electors. They had fought the fight, borne the brunt of the battle, and won the victory. Then they were cast aside like useless swords. It is questionable, indeed, how far the right of voting would have protected them, even if they had retained it. The religious passion had been evoked, and would continue to be evoked, to make them brave those who had the power of feudal lords over them. The representatives whom they could return might prove unfaithful, or at least powerless to protect them from the retaliation of their taskmasters, who were allied with men of the same class, though of different antecedents, in England. As it was, the Act which gave relief to

the upper-class Catholics brought disfranchisement on the lower multitude. This was one way of qualifying any benefits it might accord. The landlords had now no political interest to serve by retaining a tenantry on their estates who could not vote them or their friends into any posts of profit, and who were not perhaps more than equally profitable when compared with cattle. Fanatics roused their fears also, and taught them that this Act was only the beginning of a great upheaval, when those who were down would be raised up, and the great bulwark of Protestant ascendancy would be overthrown. They had preserved their character of aliens: and now they felt a strange terror resulting from this very antagonism they had fostered; and a vague fear of what the future might bring forth hung for ever like a cloud between their hearts and contentment. They thought they could not do better than disarm their possible enemies in time. Hence came schemes of new colonizations from Britain, of local plantations of Protestants only, on the estates of some fanatically foolish landlords. Hence, too, came projects of wholesale evictions, that the work which had not been done by Elizabeth, or James, or Cromwell, might now at last be completed, and the men who cultivated the soil might be clean swept out, and their places given over to the beasts of the field. Catholic Emancipation was followed in two years' time by another Act to cheapen and facilitate the process of ejectment; and this was still further amended and improved upon, until eviction became

quite a cheap and easy thing for the landlord. It is remarkable enough that ejectment for arrears of rent should be a creation of the Statute law.

The earliest enactment of the kind is stated to be the 6 Ed. I., c. iv., which, however, only allowed the remedy in case of the arrears having been due for two years. Those Statutes which have successively abridged the term of grace, appear to have been made with a special view to accommodate Irish landlords, so that their organs are forgetful when they raise a cry of no exceptional measures for Ireland. Ireland has been ruled exceptionally in the interest of their class. There is another fact which bears upon this subject, and which is pregnant with significance: the Brehon law did not contemplate eviction for non-payment of rent, and the common law of England did not recognise it either. At common law, a landlord could not eject his tenant, whilst it was declared that "the exile or destruction of villeins or tenants at will, or making them poor when they were rich when the tenant came in, whereby they depart from their tenures, is waste." (Co. Litt. 536.) The "Middle Nation," as a matter of fact, never promoted the extension of English laws to the Irish people, unless when they had themselves the power of manipulating them and moulding them so as to suit their own especial ends. They cherished only so much of the feudal system as gave them power and privilege. When Drummond declared that property had its duties as well as its rights, he was harshly denounced.

With the passing of the Relief Act, and the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, a separation was made between the landlord and his tenantry, so that, having little further need of them, he availed himself of the power left in his hands to rid himself of them. An era of eviction had been ushered in. It must be avowed that the grievous mismanagement of affairs during the famine years by the Government of the day put a heavy premium on the depopulation of the country by eviction. For instance money was advanced by the Treasury, to be expended on public works, and to be repaid by local assessments; but the public works were of a strictly unproductive character; and the consequence was that the work done helped in no wise to pay off the money advanced. Terribly heavy rates became necessary in consequence. The industrious and provident were struck down by them to the ground. Many of the landlords were ruined, and others warned to devise means for delivering themselves from such a peril by clearing off their tenantry. The system of divisions adopted for poor-law rating in Ireland, differing from that in England, facilitated the work; for under it the large proprietor could drive all possible paupers out of his district, and by so doing would never afterwards be liable to help in supporting them. They could not be sent back upon him, but remained a burden to some neighbour, or trebled the rates upon the struggling artizan in the next town. Owing to causes of this kind the rates are most unequal. Those of a country town may

be five or six times heavier than those of a rural district close by, merely because its workhouse has been filled from that district by eviction. Here is the simple reason of that strange fact in Fenianism which has puzzled all beholders—the exceeding disaffection of the artizan classes of the towns; and this shows how fallacious is the common argument against attributing Fenianism to the land-law grievances.

Although during this period events have followed each other in the manner which has been described, allowance must be made for some modifications due to local circumstances. The Ulster custom, for instance, must be taken into consideration, and the kind feeling of many individual landlords. In many places, too, the tenantry who possess votes have voted with the landlord, and never started a Liberal candidate; so that in the northern counties, where this state of things exists, politics do not come in as an incentive to eviction. But the tenantry are as much as ever the slaves of the landlord's will in the matter; and this is an intolerable thing in a country where an estate may change hands several times in the course of a few years. The new owners are many of them worse than the old, inasmuch as they are wholly strangers, who, having made money in other pursuits, invest it in an estate, on the expectation of a good per-centage. They are not conversant with the drawbacks of farming, and know little how to make allowances for injuries resulting from bad weather. This makes the present condition of affairs, with regard

to land-tenure in Ireland, especially anomalous and chaotic. But whilst the condition of the cultivator is bad because it is insecure, he has recovered an advantage which had disappeared with the old Celtic system. He has got a representative of his Brehon in the person of the stipendiary magistrate, and thus is not in all things in the power of his landlord.

THE ULSTER CUSTOM.

In his series of letters on the Irish Land Question, Lord Dufferin referred to the Ulster Custom in a very perplexing way. He observed that the inhabitants of the Northern Province did not join in the agitation for tenant-right because they did not wish to do anything that might disturb their "gracious custom," with which they were well pleased. Describing this gracious custom, he said that, as an almost invariable consequence of it, the new tenant entered upon his farm burdened with debt and destitute of capital; that it gave, as a general result, low farming, inadequate profits, and uneducated children; and that it wrought too frequently the ruin and emigration of the Ulster tenant, in spite of indulgent landlords and a secure tenure. By all former accounts the inhabitants of the North of Ireland have been described as an especially shrewd and hard-headed race: that they should be so charmed with this state of things as not to wish it altered, indicates a mystery.

What is the Ulster "custom" referred to, and how

did it originate? The perplexity produced by Lord Dufferin's words cannot be cleared away till a reply has been given to both these questions. It appears then, in the first place, that the tenant in Ulster is recognised as having a right to live upon his farm, a right of occupation. This right may be alienated. If the tenant desires, for any reason, to surrender his farm, or if he should happen to be ejected, he advertises the fact amongst his neighbours, or in the local newspapers, and the person who wishes to succeed him pays him down a certain sum of money for the right to enter into occupation. This sum varies with the intensity of the demand for farms, and with the amount of improvements which have been added by the out-going tenant. This influences the sale, no doubt; but, on the other hand, the money paid must not be regarded merely as compensation money. This custom exists even with regard to unimproved land, which is sufficient to attest the recognition of an occupation-right in the tenant. If, however, the tenant allows a farm to remain as unimproved land, he will not receive more than one-fourth or one-third of the sum he would receive if he had expended his energies upon it. According to a report made in 1845, the tenant-right of unimproved land sold then for five years' purchase, whilst that of highly improved farms went sometimes up to fifteen and twenty years' purchase. So secure has the tenure been deemed that the presence or absence of a lease made no material difference, in some cases only the difference of two

years' purchase. The landlord's part was more or less passive; sometimes the change of occupiers would not be known to him until the new tenant came to pay his rent; generally, however, the intended change was notified to him, and if he objected to the proposed purchaser he might suggest another, or resume the farm himself. In the latter case, he had to buy out the selling tenant, like any other purchaser. In all cases arrears of rent due to the landlord came to him out of the purchase money; but where a tenant had such a stake in the land, where it was so much his interest to make improvements, he worked very hard and lived very abstemiously, that he might be punctual in his payments. By the same custom, the landlord was hindered from so raising the rent as to make the tenant-right a nullity: hence the middleman system was unknown in Ulster, and the only effect of an increased competition for land was to raise the value of the tenant's right, not to swell the rent. Thus, the landlord was saved from the temptation to extort the utmost the tenant could be induced to promise; and, having no inducement to keep him in a state of squalour, he could interfere to moderate the excessive bidding for farms, which would tend to impoverish the tenant. Accordingly, in some districts the landlord limited the amount of purchase-money to be given for unleased farms to five years' purchase, and for leased farms to seven years' purchase. Here the landlord being a disinterested observer, with the comfort of his tenantry chiefly at heart, could stand forth

as a protector. If the money had been coming into his own hands, experience has not shown that any limitation of the kind would have been proposed. The principal disadvantage of the custom has been that the new tenant occasionally has had to borrow the purchase-money or part of it. The interest, as Lord Dufferin says, is a second or additional rent; but then, as we have seen, the landlord is always there to moderate the amount of purchase-money, whereas in the absence of the custom there is no power in the island to moderate the amount of rent the landlord may impose. Besides, the tenant knows that by close attention and hard labour he may make improvements which shall bring him in a return, should he have to put his farm upon the market; in the absence of the custom, he is aware that the rent will very probably rise in direct ratio with his improvements, and that he has no prospect of a resting-place in the world. Where the custom prevails, the landlord, being an impartial third party, has an interest in seeing that his tenants are not victimised, so that they shall at least reflect credit on the estate; where the custom is absent, the landlord's material interest in the increase of rents might possibly gain the mastery over what is, in comparison, but a matter of sentiment. Of course, we do not say that, as a rule, Irish landlords, even straitened absentees, would prefer hard cash to indulging in a sentimental pleasure; but there are exceptions.

The origin of this custom may be traced back at

least to the settlement or plantation of Ulster in the reign of James I. The greater part of six northern counties had, it seems, "escheated," fallen to the Crown, and been surveyed. The King conceived a project of establishing a civil plantation on these unreformed and waste counties, as they were styled; but in distributing these lands to applicants, he wished it to be clearly understood that they should intend not only to benefit themselves, but also to do service to the crown and commonwealth. Importunate suitors who sought for more than they were able to plant with tenants, were denounced as desirous of their private profit only, not of the advancement of the public service. The Crown had had quite enough of them in Ireland. Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General for Ireland, who assisted in the "planting" of several counties as Crown commissioner, declares this. Before the plantation, he says, the land under English sway had been given up to the rapacity of a few grasping lords, who kept the people in a miserable state as tenants-at-will or tenants in villenage; so that the latter, on account of the uncertainty of their tenure, utterly neglected to build, plant, or improve the soil. English colonists, who had been invited over by these landlords to settle, discovered that the prospect before them was intolerable, and fled the country in thousands. These English tenants do not appear to have admired the system of landlordism prevalent in Ireland one whit more than the Irish tenant-at-will of the present day. The plantation, it was hoped, would

have settled the question once for all. Special care was taken, we are told, to settle and secure the under-tenants, to the end that there might be repose and establishment of every subjects' estate, lord and tenant, freeholder and farmer. Fixed and certain rents were charged on the tenant for the same reasons. This then was the avowed object of the plantation, not the expulsion of the native population. The latter, indeed, were neither expelled nor ignored. The escheated lands were distributed amongst three sorts of "undertakers," or persons who engaged to plant the allotted tracts. The first class were English or Scottish, servitors (of the Crown) or others who should plant their portions with English or inland Scottish inhabitants. The second class were servitors in Ireland who might take the Irish along with these as tenants. These two classes were bound to take the oath of supremacy and religious conformity. The third class were excused from this—they were "Natives of Ireland who are to be made freeholders." All these classes were stringently bound not to demise any part of their lands at will only, but to let them at fixed rents for a term of years, for lives in tail, or in fee simple. They were especially directed to forbear from making what were known as "Irish exactions." Undertakers with two thousand acres held of the King *in capite;* those of one thousand five hundred by knight's service as of the Castle of Dublin; those of one thousand in common soccage. They had to make certain buildings of castles and bawns, for which as

well as for their tenants' houses (cabins were forbidden) timber was granted them from the King's woods. The first named were to plant on their lands forty-eight able men, to keep a demesne of six hundred acres in their own hands, to have four fee farmers on a hundred and twenty acres each, six leaseholders on a hundred acres each, and on the rest eight families of husbandmen, artificers, and cottagers. Proportionate obligations were laid on the others, but all were bound, within five years, to take up their residence on their properties. Above all, they were not to let their lands at uncertain rents, nor for a less period than twenty-one years or three lives. The native Irish whose estates were granted them in fee simple and held in soccage, had their privileges also, but amongst these was no exemption from the stringent rule binding them to let their lands at rents certain and have no tenants at will.

Under these terms and in this way the escheated lands of Ulster came into the hands of one hundred and four English and Scottish undertakers, fifty-six servitors (or persons serving the Crown in Ireland), and two hundred and eighty-six natives. Bonds were given to the Government for the due performance of these covenants, and for better assurance the King required a regular account to be sent him of the progress made by each undertaker. Lord Dufferin, when stating that it was one of a landlord's "most consummate" duties to weed out unimproving tenants, made an allusion to the conduct of manufacturers who could

dismiss their men at a week's notice—a privilege which the law did not interfere with. He seems to believe that an argument can be found against interference with the landlord's privileges in the idea that none think of interference in the factory-lord's affairs. But the fact is that no comfort can be sought at such a source, because the Legislature has actively and emphatically made such interference on behalf of those whom he suggests as comparable with tenants on an estate. Moreover, whilst the law has interfered to appoint factory inspectors, we find that King James interfered in a somewhat similar way, even with property in land by appointing royal commissioners. From the survey of Nicholas Pynnar, who, in 1618, was appointed a commissioner to inspect and report, we find also that the undertakers or landlords were cheating the Crown and their tenants as fast as they could. Tenants brought over from England and Scotland found that they could get no lease, nor anything but promises and uncertain tenures; many of them complained to the commissioners, others had left the country. They could not abide this system of landlordism at all. Possibly they made over their land for a trifle to those who cared to remain (as did some of Cromwell's settlers in like case), and thus originated what is now known as the Ulster custom of tenant-right, a custom which stands in place of the more certain and secure plantation-system. Pynnar, who saw little on every side but broken covenants, false pleas, and even down-

right refusal, was also met by the vain excuse so often heard since: the undertaker has given no leases, for his tenants will have no longer time than from year to year.

Now, as to Lord Dufferin's assertion, with which we set out: he is wrong, in the first place, in stating that the Ulster tenantry took no interest in the agitation for tenant-right, for it is notorious that some of the most prominent speakers in the Tenant-league were Ulstermen, and that meetings were held all over the country to promote a radical reform of the land-laws. In the second place, he is utterly wrong in attributing the emigration from Ulster to the existence of this "gracious custom," whereas it results, plainly and simply, from the fact that this ancient custom has long been violated by Ulster landlords, and is in danger of perishing utterly. It is going, as the plantation-system went, through the bad faith of the landlords.

How flagrantly they violated its trusts to the detriment of their tenantry may be judged from the recorded opinion of the eminent Irish advocate, Isaac Butt, formerly professor of Political Economy in the University of Dublin. In a work, which we have found a source of valuable information, and which, like Prendergast's History of the Cromwellian "Settlement," is indispensable to the student of the Irish question, he makes a very forcible declaration. It was objected that the Legislature has no right to interfere with the property of Irish landlords—now over a great portion of the country their estates were

granted them on distinct and still binding conditions. These they have systematically violated, and so far from the Legislature having no right to interfere with their assumed privileges, he believes that the Crown might long since, by legal process, have resumed possession of many of their estates.

ULSTER AND ITS DANGER.

THERE is a mischievous delusion in existence with regard to Irish disagreements on the Land question, which deserves notice at the present time. It has been asserted that in Ulster, the Protestant north as it is sometimes called, the fundamental land theories of the population are totally dissimilar from what they are in the other provinces. This province, it is added, is peopled by a Scottish race, who have no sympathy whatever with the people of the rest of Ireland, and who especially disdain their views on the subject of tenant-right.

It would be difficult to find a specimen of fallacious reasoning which includes so many blunders in so small a compass. The argument as formed in the minds of those who propose the theory must stand somewhat in this fashion :—Scottish (Lothian) farming is conducted on the high-culture system, with large capital, costly implements, extensive acreage, and certain leases. Ulster was colonized by immigrants from Scotland. Therefore, the tenant farmers of Ulster,

disdaining small farms and the system of petty culture, occupy the same position as their kindred in the parent country, and have no points of contact or grounds of sympathy with the rest of the inhabitants of Ireland. In any one who aspires to legislate for Ireland such a theory evinces a deplorable ignorance of the condition of the country. Mr. Goldwin Smith could hardly find a stronger argument in favor of his proposal to hold a session of Parliament in Dublin than the publication of such opinions. For, as a matter of fact, large farms are far more common in the level grazing lands south of Ulster than amongst its undulating vales, hillocks, and mountains. The Ulster man is accustomed from his infancy to see the white cottages of the tenant-farmers enlivening the varied landscape at no distant intervals; and when he visits the southern provinces, it seems strange to him to look round and see so little sign of life over the level country. Here and there, at wide intervals, the house of some gentleman farmer may be observed, and perhaps the smoke drifting up from the cabins of his labourers. "Nothing here but gentlemen and beggars!" exclaimed one traveller from Ulster. In his disappointment he was not altogether just; but the aspect of the country brought home to him the view put forward by Hugh Miller with respect to large and small farming in Scotland. It was impossible, urged the Scottish geologist, that the farm servant, with his fixed wages of meagre amount, could be made as thoughtful and provident a person as the

small farmer who, thrown on his own resources, had to cultivate his fields, and drive his bargains, with the settlements between him and his landlord full before him; and who often succeeded in saving money, and in giving a classical education to some promising son or nephew, which enabled the young man to rise to a higher sphere of life. It is with this class of tenant-farmers precisely that we have to deal in Ulster. So far as they came from Scotland, they were transplanted before the large farm system was adopted there. Their sympathies, even as Scots, would not be with those "lairds sae gair on gear" who drove out small farmers to make room for larger ones, or "set ane mailin to anither." On the contrary, they would be as ready as the Scottish poet of the last century to exclaim :—

> A burning curse licht on the heads
> O' worthless lairds colleagued thegither
> To drive auld Scotland's hardy clans
> Frae their native hills and blooming heather.

The population of Ulster is the densest in Ireland. According to the last census there were, six years ago, 133 persons to the square mile in Connaught, 160 in Munster, 191 in Leinster, and 224 in Ulster. This has been attributed to the greater number of manufactories in the northern province; but if we exclude all towns having a population of 2,000 persons and upwards, the fact remains essentially the same. In that case, Connaught will have 124 persons to the square mile ; Munster, 126 ; Leinster, 129 ; and

Ulster, 191. But perhaps the northern province is more generally fertile than the others? Taking the number of persons to the square mile of arable land, the contrast is even plainer. Then Leinster is found to have only 154 persons, Munster 168, and Connaught 195; whilst Ulster has 258. Again, however, it may be argued that the average density is a bad test; and that the remnants of the old Celtic inhabitants have increased and multiplied recklessly in out of the way corners and counties, and thus by their squalid numbers mask the position really occupied by the Scottish element. The differences of religious belief may be said roughly to limn out the differences of race in Ulster; sufficiently so, at all events, for the present purpose. The Census Commissioners give us the numbers belonging to each religion respectively, although they have not taken note of race-distinctions. What religion therefore—that is, what race—prevails in that part of Ulster which is most densely populated?

The county of Armagh is the most thickly peopled county of Ulster, and of Ireland. It numbers 321 persons to the square mile of the total area, exclusive of towns having a population of 2,000 and upwards; and it reckons 381 persons to every square mile of arable land. Its population is composed of 92,760 Catholics to 97,326 Protestants. The foreign element, to use a vicious term, is in the ascendant here. The Catholics form but 48·8 per cent. of the population; and it must be borne in mind that they form 50·5 per

cent. of the whole population of Ulster. The county next in populousness to Armagh is the county of Down, which alike in Ulster and in Ireland takes the second place. Excluding the towns of a stated size, as before, we have a population of 273 to the square mile, or of 317 persons to the square mile of arable land. In this county there are 97,409 Catholics to 202,718 Protestants, of whom 133,796 are Presbyterians, or, as it would be said, of the Scottish race. On the other hand, the least densely populated county of Ulster is Fermanagh, which reckons 185 persons to the square mile of arable land; that is to say, it is not quite half so thickly peopled as Armagh. In this county, however, the Catholics form 56·5 per cent. of the population. In Cavan they form 80·5, and in Donegal 75·1 per cent.; but both these counties are considerably inferior in density of population to those in which the Protestants are the more numerous. Thus, the Protestant or, if it is preferred, the Scottish, element in Ulster has even a deeper interest in the settlement of the Land question than the Catholic or Irish element, if degrees of comparison can be mentioned with regard to a question vital to both, or terms used presupposing an antagonism of races where all are Irish. But of the population of Ulster a large proportion, an absolute majority in fact, profess the Catholic religion; these, it cannot be denied, represent the same race and sympathize with the same aspirations as are to be found prevailing in the other provinces. The Catholics of Ulster are in number more

than the whole population of the province of Connaught; whilst in the northern province they stand related to the other chief persuasions in this fashion: 966,613 Catholics; 503,835 Presbyterians; 391,315 members of the Established Church; 32,030 Methodists. They form 50·5 of the population of the province, whilst the Presbyterians form 26·3 per cent., and the members of the Established Church, 20·4 per cent. It is desirable next to ascertain whether, against the pressure of adverse circumstances, they have been able to occupy a relatively fair position in the scale of society, or lie at the bottom as a serfish residuum.

An analysis of the census tables of occupation, arranged according to religious profession, would certainly surprise a number of persons who cherish the latter theory. It would prove that the question is well worth attention, and that there are few Irish topics on which English opinion is led more astray than on the relations of Ulster to Ireland and of the different religious persuasions in Ulster to each other. A complete survey of the grades occupied by the respective parties we do not propose to give here, but some idea of the subject may be obtained by a glance at the following table. According to the Census Commissioners the members of the three chief persuasions were, in 1861, represented, in the several classes specified in the following table by the numbers appended to each :—

	Established Church.	Presbyterians.	Catholics.
Landed Proprietors . .	835	521	944
Land Agents . . .	90	28	9
Farmers	30,733	51,054	94,876
Land-surveyors . .	51	40	83
Land-stewards . .	190	235	107
Agricultural Implement Manufacturers . .	31	21	100
Ploughmen . . .	2,786	5,129	7,321
Millers	317	461	574
Bakers	395	646	1,437
Grocers	832	1,715	1,297
Tobacconists . . .	33	16	210
Cattle-dealers . . .	55	94	534
Fishermen . . .	305	301	1,016
Brewers, Distillers, and Maltsters . . .	18	28	27
Vintners	285	535	1,103
Hotel and Innkeepers .	197	231	308
Wool-spinners . . .	297	321	2,864
Wool-weavers . . .	49	78	343
Cloth-manufacturers .	1	0	3
Tailors and Clothiers .	922	1,295	4,075
Woollen-drapers . .	128	246	117
Bootmakers, Binders, &c.	3,104	3,005	6,722
Hatters	58	46	97
Carpenters . . .	2,167	3,339	3,707
Blacksmiths . . .	991	1,631	2,880

In what has been called the staple trade of Ulster, the flax trade, we find in the class of flax merchants and dealers 25 members of the Established Church, 53 Presbyterians, and 200 Catholics; whilst in the class of flax-yarn manufacturers they stand at 4 members of the Established Church, 4 Presbyterians, and 2 Ca-

tholics. Linen manufacturers are found to be 88 of the first denomination, 162 of the second, and 56 of the third. In the class beneath this, that of flax-dressers, spinners, &c., there are 1,448 members of the Established Church, 1,733 Presbyterians, and 4,451 Catholics; whilst the linen and damask weavers are reckoned at 16,759, 19,811, and 18,318 respectively. Of cotton merchants, 3 are members of the Church of England, 2 are Presbyterians, and 10 are Catholics. In the class of cotton manufacturers, 5 are members of the Established Church, and 2 are Presbyterians. There are no Catholics set down in this class, and they are inferior in number to the others as cotton-spinners and weavers; but in the class of embroiderers, sewed muslin and tambour workers, there are 24,422 Catholics to 10,143 Presbyterians, and 6,829 members of the Established Church. In the soldier class there are 907 members of the Established Church, 257 Presbyterians, and 1,082 Catholics; and in the constabulary the numbers stand at 831; 338; and 1,602 respectively. But whilst the number of Catholic barristers is over a third of the number of barristers belonging to the Established Church, and that of the Catholic physicians between a third and a half of that of physicians belonging to the Established Church, there are only 4 Catholic magistrates on the Bench with the 48 of the favoured Church. The Presbyterians are even worse treated; for though they come still closer in number in these two classes, they likewise furnish but one-twelfth of the magistrates. This dis-

parity in a province where the Presbyterian population outnumbers that of the Established Church, and where the Catholic population exceeds both, is properly regarded as a grievance.

From these statistics it will be seen how thorough has been the mingling of races in Ulster, and how effectually prejudices and penal restrictions have been broken down, and the older race, surging up through the breach, has won its way to a fair position in every rank and class. Wherever its members might go, by their own efforts they have gone; where they are unseen, or where, being visible, they are in seriously disproportionate numbers, there the hand of authority, which should have dealt equal and impartial justice, has been used to depress or exclude them. The barrier thus raised must also give way; and it will give way all the sooner when a more intimate knowledge of the subject is obtained, and Ulster is regarded as in truth and fact a part of Ireland. At no time is it more important to bear this in mind than when the settlement of the land tenure is in question. Ulster demands an equitable arrangement with exceeding urgency; for, whilst heretofore it has been preserved from the fate, and restrained from the passions, of the other provinces, by possessing in its "custom" a traditional tenant-right, there are symptoms of a resolve to destroy this custom. The Ulster tenants, sturdy and resolute men, accustomed to party-warfare, and sullen rather than subservient, are not likely to see this done without a determined struggle. Before

1798 there were agrarian insurrections amongst them; and those who emigrated in consequence to America, became marked as the fiercest enemies of the British flag in the War of Independence. In 1798 they were organized again, and with more general effect. And the troubles which we may expect if landlords persist in using them as their more southern neighbours have been used may be judged both from the example of the latter and from the testimony of experienced men. The lesson of the evidence given, some twenty-two years ago, before the Land Commissioners, by men intimately conversant with the state of the North, may be summed up in the words of Mr. Handcock, agent to Lord Lurgan in the counties of Armagh, Down, and Antrim. Pointing out the benefits of the "custom" of tenant-right, he says "much of our Ulster prosperity has been the result of it;" "and no measure," he adds, "would have a greater effect in improving the state of the South and West than the introduction of the tenant-right as it exists in Ulster." "It is very conducive to the peace of the country; for almost every man has a stake in the community, and is therefore opposed to agrarian outrages as well as riots." And then we have this remarkable and important passage: "The landlords are compelled to recognize tenant-right, as in several instances in this neighbourhood, where they have refused to allow tenant-right, the in-coming tenant's house has been burned, his cattle houghed, or his crops trodden down by night. The disallowance of

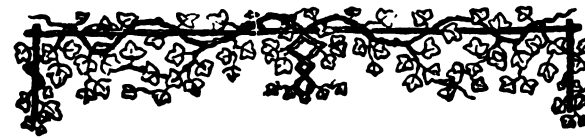
tenant-right, so far as I know, is *always* attended with outrage. A landlord cannot even resume possession to himself without paying for it" (buying out the tenant's right). "In fact, it is one of the sacred rights of the country, which cannot be touched with impunity; and if systematic efforts were made amongst the proprietors of Ulster to invade tenant-right, I do not believe there is a force at the disposal of the Horse Guards sufficient to keep the peace of the province; and when we consider that all the improvements have been effected at the expense of the tenant, it is perfectly right that this tenant-right should exist; his money has been laid out on the faith of compensation in that shape."

Some efforts to invade the Ulster tenant-right are now being made, and have been in process of execution during the past few years. The consequence is, not that the Ulster population has yet broken out into local outrages, but that it is being kneaded to revolution or Fenianism. If the systematized Fenian Society were not in existence, it is possible that particular outrages would have occurred. A tourist through some of the most peaceable and industrious parts of Ulster has informed us that on his saying last year to some tenant farmers that he supposed Fenianism was in disfavour there, he received the reply that the people were not Fenians, but had no abhorrence of those who were so; that they fancied they might be better off if the Fenians should succeed; and that they could not be worse, for that the agent sent

round a valuator every fourth year to raise their rents for every improvement effected, and thus made their "custom" a mockery. If this is the state of feeling where no ejectments have taken place, what is it likely to be where evictions and acts such as those which convulsed Munster have commenced? The *Londonderry Standard*, the sober and respectable organ of the Presbyterians of the North-West, in its number of the 27th of Nov., 1867, declares Fenianism to have "its root and source in Ireland's monstrous land-economy;" and adds: "Will it be believed that in Ulster there are landlords so demented as to pursue, in relation to their tenantry at this very moment, a policy calculated to drive the latter into Fenianism or any other scheme of political madness which may present itself in the shape of a remedial alternative?" And it gives this as an example:—A landlord in a populous Ulster county lately wanted a supply of ready money, "and having discovered that some of his tenants had, by hard frugality and self-denial, economized small sums, he gave them notice that he would give them leases of 21 years at rents (amounting in reality to the full letting value of the land even without leases), on condition of their paying him fines of ten pounds per acre, or very nearly half the ordinary average value of the fee-simple in the public land market! They were informed that if they did not accept these terms, their rents would be raised to an enormous figure, far above their means of payment. Negotiations were tried and found useless. The poor

men had eventually to hand over to their landlord the total savings of their lives, in order to purchase leave to toil for a bare subsistence during twenty-one years to come. One of these tenants, the industrious cultivator of a patch of ground containing eleven acres, had saved £110 by severe economy, as our agricultural readers may suppose, and this poor man was compelled to hand over to his feudal lord and master every penny of his little store in return for one of the rackrent leases above described." "These," it adds, "are no solitary instances; and when British law permits and sanctions in Ireland this kind of privileged extortion, can any reasonable man wonder that popular exasperation is the consequence, and that emissaries of revolution should take advantage of it?"

Thus whilst baseless theories are confidently put forward touching the condition of Ulster, this province, which organized revolt in 1763, 1772, and 1798, and which was the foremost in supporting the Tenant League agitation of some years ago, is now made to ripen into Fenianism by the supineness of the Legislature. Mr. Goldwin Smith has truly said that the Orangemen and Ulstermen will be the most earnest of revolutionists, for their interests are most closely bound up with the land; and whilst the traditions of the educated make many of them incline to Republicanism, the spirit of the masses is far more intensely stubborn and democratic than in any of the other provinces.



THE SECRET OF EMIGRATION.

In an elaborate plea for Irish landlordism, the noble author aimed, among other things, at showing that the number of ejectment processes issued was not sufficient to account for the immense annual outflow of the people. From this he argued that, to a great extent, the system has been held responsible for what it was guiltless of. In this argument there were several flaws serious enough to invalidate its force as a reason for allowing things to remain as they are. The rent might be raised so much that the tenant would surrender his holding without eviction, and the avoidance of legal difficulties has frequently been secured by promising the tenant a certain sum for his interest, which he was told would be refused him if he made the slightest demur. Again, a certain number of evictions on any property would, in most cases, have a tendency to unsettle the minds of the remaining tenants, to make them feel insecure and alarm them with the prospect of their turn coming next, and thus to make them sit loose and, on the first tempting opportunity, flit to some other country.

But there is another point which appears to have been generally overlooked, although it is not the least important nor the least pertinent to the matter at issue. The single eviction of a middleman, whose holding has been sublet, might easily cause the clearance of a number of under-tenants, whose only title came from him. A pamphlet has recently been published in Dublin which purports to give the history of a small western watering-place called Kilkee, with especial reference to the question of tenure. Of its main facts we have had corroboration from other sources, and the light they reflect on the whole subject of Irish land-tenure makes them worth studying. Fifty years ago this maritime village can scarcely be said to have had any existence, for on its site only a paltry smithy and one or two huts were to be seen. The latter were of the usual construction of the poorer class of cabins of the time, which generally consisted of only one thatched apartment, with a clay floor, in the centre of which was placed a flag-stone. The fire was piled on this, and the smoke streamed up through a hole in the middle of the roof: the whole plan being no doubt as ancient as the hunting booths of the primitive Fenians. The situation, however, was a picturesque and good one, on the margin of a pleasant bay; and in process of time the place became a favourite resort for a month at the sea-side in summer. In the rural districts of Ireland it was not unusual to see people in humble circumstances wending their way from the inland farms to such places, the men

in frieze coats trudging along on foot, whilst their mothers, wives, and children were carried in the farm cart, together with a sufficient quantity of potatos to last during their presence at the sea-side. Accordingly, very meagre accommodation was at first sufficient. But as the place rose in repute, new cabins were built to accommodate the annually increasing number of visitors; and as the younger generation got more refined tastes, and visitors from a neighbouring city began to come in, improvements had to be made in the cottages and in the style of accommodation afforded. To effect this the owners had to labour steadily, both in winter and summer, and to live with a parsimony and asceticism which those who are not intimately acquainted with the Irish Celts could scarcely realize. The soil was wretched, covered with sand for nearly half a mile shoreward, and bleak and boggy farther inland. The middleman sublet portions of his holding to destitute under-tenants or squatters; and they, as they cut the peat for fuel, rudely drained the bog and reclaimed the soil. The men worked with clumsy spades and shovels at delving and draining; the women brought baskets of sand and of sea-weed to mix with the peaty soil, that it might become friable and fertile. The gathering of sea-weed is an occupation onerous in the extreme. It calls the gatherer to the beach in the stormiest weather, when, the tide being high and the sea agitated to its depths, the long *laminaria* is flung upon the rocks, and must be seized at once in order that it may

not be withdrawn again by the retiring billow and perhaps lost. Hence, not only by day but by night also, the rough tides were watched and their spoil taken from them by the vigilant owner of an acre or a half acre of the needy soil. Of course when the prospect of eking out their livelihood by letting lodgings to the sea-bathers was opened to these people, they did not neglect the opportunity. Their potatos were planted before the summer influx came, and did not require to be delved out until the visitors went away again. Thus there was a profitable occupation for the slack season, which otherwise would have pressed hardly enough upon men whose stock of provisions generally became very scanty before the harvest crop was quite ripe. But what they gained by letting lodgings was to a large extent expended on the improvement of old, and the erection of new buildings, so that the hamlet began to assume quite a neat appearance, and became accordingly more attractive. It is stated that during the lifetime of the middleman the tenants had expended a sum which for them was very large on buildings in the village. In order to erect a "lodge," the people thought no privation or labour too hard. In one instance it is related that whilst the father of a family took upon himself the mason's work, his daughter acted as his assistant, carrying on her back the stones from the quarry, bringing sand, and mixing the mortar. In the famine years the work had to be suspended; but the girl having married a non-commissioned

officer, she and her husband saved money and remitted enough, during his service abroad, to have the house completed and cleared of debt. When they returned it was ready for them, the father having died in the interval. It is now in ruins.

The middleman, as leases fell in, raised the rent on a valuation, which was fair enough, considering that the advantages of the situation as a bathing-place, had become so much more appreciated than formerly. But he did not commit the injustice of raising the rent on a valuation of the improvements on house property effected by the tenants, which would have been to impose a grievous tax upon their industry. However, it appears that the people were not quite satisfied with the middleman, nor with holding under him; they looked forward to a more secure and happier state of things when the head owner and absentee would become directly their landlord, at the middleman's death. For this reason the declining health of the latter did not deter them from expending as much as they could spare in new buildings and new improvements, but rather encouraged them to do so. No hint seems to have been given them that the intentions of the landlord were not such as they reckoned on. The middleman died in the autumn of 1859; and it is stated that the tenants were first made aware of the difference of masters by seeing an advertisement in the newspapers declaring that an unreserved auction of their holdings would take place at a certain date! In Ireland the law as it

stands permits this, and custom does not forbid it. Forms of proposal, however, were sent to all the tenants, that they might have an opportunity of bidding for their tenements; and, naturally enough, in alarm at the prospect of losing everything, they did offer a considerable sum. Irish tenants more frequently bid too high than too low; and, where the "Ulster custom" exists, an outgoing tenant's interest has been sold for as many years' purchase as would acquire the fee-simple of the land. But it would appear that the bidding was not satisfactory to the mind of the proprietor or his agent. November came, and possession was demanded. The tenants were only allowed to re-enter their holdings on condition of signing proposals of rent higher still than they had offered when under fear of seeing their property going to strangers. In cases where the middleman's rental had been thirty-five shillings, the landlord's was £8, £9, and £10. In one instance, a fifteen-shilling rent was raised to £7; and in another, a ten-shilling rent to £24. Those tenants who had been most industrious, and who had made the greatest improvements, under this system were mulcted the most severely. The new rent not only surpassed the middleman's, which was a ground-rent, but greatly exceeded the Government valuation under the Ordnance survey. In November, 1860, the inhabitants were unsettled again by a demand for possession, and a number of them were re-admitted on a promise to pay the same high rent as on the preceding year.

They were admitted, however, as "care-takers" only; and it is not difficult to imagine what results this new kind of tenure would produce amongst an industrious and a provident population. Some departed; those who remained had to suffer discontentedly many new privations. In the following summer an address was presented to the landlord by the Catholic and Protestant clergymen on behalf of the tenants. In this document it was stated that about £30,000 had been expended by the tenantry on his property during the life-time of the middleman; that after his death they had been promised compensation for their improvements wherever increased rents should be imposed or the houses cleared away; and that rents had been put on which, if continued, would be the utter ruin of many of them, though, as the letting was only for six months, it had been generally submitted to, because the tenants had been told that money was temporarily required for effecting improvements in the town, and that the rent would be taken as a basis for calculating the value of the compensation to be awarded them. The memorial urged also that the temporary nature of the letting and the insecurity of the tenure prevented the outlay of capital, and had put a stop to all improvements, whilst in that part of the town which was situated on another estate thousands of pounds had been expended in the course of the preceding year. From what occured during the interview with the landlord the deputation believed that the prayer of the memorial had been granted, and so informed

the tenantry to their great joy. But in November, 1861, the agent, in accordance with his instructions, issued an order to the bailiff to demand possession of houses and lands again, and to re-admit occupiers of the former as "care-takers," but not to re-admit the latter as such. A reduction of rent was only held out as certain in the case of recently-erected houses, and in every instance the full rack-rent of the former year was to be paid up on the day appointed. The difference between the temporary and permanent rent would, it was promised, be returned to the tenant wherever a reduction should be made. Besides the vexatious circumstances attendant on the letting of houses and acre-patches, the tenants had to pay an increased rent for the peat bogs where they cut their turf for fuel—a rent which is set down as being at the enormous rate of £24 per acre. In cutting turf only a portion of the bog is delved away; the sods are scattered on another portion to dry: the rent, however, was not calculated on the mere cut portion, but on the whole surface used. To make matters worse, it is asserted that the whole of the poor-rates was imposed upon the tenantry; the landlord thus ridding himself of his legal share of the tax.

We need not pursue the history further, but two facts resulting from the circumstances we have noted are especially instructive. During the seven years which preceded the middleman's death the number of paupers had steadily decreased to almost one-tenth; in the four years which followed it they trebled in

number, and last year were more than double what they had been for the year in which he died. If we suppose the population to have remained stationary, this would be sufficiently significant; but when it is stated that, in the seven years since the middleman's death, the number of inhabitants has decreased by one half, the matter acquires a double importance.

That no trait might be absent which should characterize a dispute between landlord and tenant in Ireland, it is asserted that the doom of the little town fell on it because the landlord's son fancied he had received an insult from the inhabitants on political grounds. He had been returned for the county shortly before the middleman died, but on driving through this town some of his travelling companions were hissed, as obnoxious to the people, for their supposed connection with proselytism. The reception was misunderstood. But whether this had anything to do with the events which followed or not, the supposition has had too many well-grounded parallels in Ireland to prevent its seeming either unreasonable or improbable.

DECREASE OF POPULATION.

THE diminution of the Irish population has recently made itself felt in England. Farmers who hitherto have been accustomed to depend on the annual migration of reapers from Ireland have been disappointed in the numbers that now arrive. In Ireland also letters appeared in some of the papers complaining that in certain districts harvest-work was at a stand-still for want of labourers. For this the Government are blamed. Assuming office with words of regret for the hemorrhage which, in emigration, they conceived was wasting away the strength of the country, and with a promise that they would seek for and apply a styptic, they are found, when the session is over, to have done nothing of the kind. Such promises followed by such performance, if they were designed to increase disaffection, to make the people distrust British statesmen, and, despairing of redress from Imperial legislation, fix their hopes elsewhere, were admirably calculated to effect their object. The Government are seen on the one hand compelled to

continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and on the other refusing to adopt measures which would make its further suspension needless. While opposing, mutilating, or delaying all measures of serious reform for the people at large, they are observed to spare no pains and to lose neither time nor opportunity in rewarding and recruiting their own peculiar faction. Vacancies have been made or created with indecent haste, and posts multiplied and filled up with such rapidity and partiality that the dregs of the party have had to be drawn up to the surface, and high offices given to men whose incapacity is a matter of public notoriety and of public scandal. Considering that in Ireland Conservatism is almost everywhere synonymous with Orangeism, it is easy to see what ill effects must be produced by even a brief reign of the party when this is the policy they pursue. Shoals of petty obstructives are raised into official position all over the island; and the rewards they get and the favour they enjoy and extend to others of their kind beneath them, serve as ever present texts and lessons to increase the popular discontent. The general interests are sacrificed to the advantage of a small faction; and that is given up to party which of right belongs to the nation. The masses, finding themselves addressed in fair words and deceived by foul practice, cherish a sullen resentment, and either conspire at home or go to swell the ranks of the enemies of England abroad. Such a policy has proved in its results gravely injurious to

the Empire before now. The emigrants who after the wars of William were forced to fly to the Continent had opportunities given them to avenge their expatriation on the allies. The legislation directed against the Irish woollen trade, although it was then almost wholly in the hands of Protestants of English descent, drove numbers of these to France, where they helped to secure the success of her trade, and to enable it to rival that of England. Swift, commenting on the "causes of the wretched condition of Ireland" in his day, said, "another cause of this nation's misery is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, and covetous landlords, expecting all who live under them should make bricks without straw; who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the spirits of the people are broken, and made fit for slavery. . . . And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling the kingdom by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth, against common reason and justice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations, by which numberless families have been forced either to leave the kingdom or stroll about and increase the numbers of our thieves and beggars." But, in the words of Grattan, those who were trampled on in Ireland stung us in America.

Here we have some of the fruits of enforced emigration from Ireland; and in considering the annual outflow now going on, it is proper to bear them in

mind. Is there any reason to suppose that those who are departing now are less likely than those who went before them to bear a grudge against the Government which stirs no finger to protect their interests? In the face of a large and organized confederacy in the United States no intelligent observer can entertain such a belief. Neither can it be denied that circumstances which they may use for purposes of retaliation are as likely to present themselves now as they were at any former period. Very soon there will probably be thousands of miles of railway to be made in Canada. Whence will the great majority of the navvies be drawn? From Ireland, and from the Irish of the United States, who have been the principal workers on the railways there. Of such an opportunity it is more than possible that the Fenians may avail themselves, with the tacit encouragement of high-placed Republicans looking to their own ends. Troops no doubt can be sent out in considerable numbers; but with parties as they are in America, who can say what our relations with the Republic will be? Elated by the downfall of the Mexican Empire, and with appetites whetted for more territory by the acquisition of Russian America, Mr. Seward aims at a settlement of the Alabama claims, based on a cession of British Columbia. In furtherance of his plans, papers published in that province are now declaring the disaffection of the people to the British Government; and it might only require some internal crisis, which would make a high bid for the Irish vote

necessary, to precipitate a rupture between the two nations.

It is in connection with its influence on the policy of foreign Governments, not less than its home results, that true statesmen must contemplate the Irish emigration. If the diminution of the Irish population at home and its increase abroad were merely a transfer of labour from one country to another, it would still deserve to be considered from both points of view; but it is more than that. It may mean a transfer, to some extent, of political power, and may foreshadow a change in the character of our international relations. The practical solution of the problem will only be accomplished by a reformed Parliament; but no time or opportunity is to be lost in showing that the subject will receive the earnest attention it demands. In this way future complications may possibly be avoided; the people may still bear up patiently, hopeful of better things; and the sting of the emigration may be drawn.

How greatly that emigration has affected, and yet steadily continues to affect the population, may be judged by the following official computations. In 1861, the census gave the population at 5,788,415; every year since, in spite of increase by births, it has been declining according to the estimates of the Registrar-General. In 1862, it was 5,784,527; in 1863, 5,739,569; in 1864, 5,675,307; in 1865, 5,641,086; in 1866, 5,582,625; in 1867, 5,557,196. Twenty-one years ago the population of Ireland was

over eight millions and a quarter; sixty-one years ago it was nearly at its present figure, being computed at 5,574,105. But the relative proportion of the sexes is not the same for 1806 and for 1867; the difference is noteworthy, for it indicates the distinction between a small population increasing under natural circumstances, and a large one diminishing by the emigration of its virile youth. In 1806, with a total population of 5,574,105, there was an excess of females over males by 50,469; whilst in 1867, with a total population of 5,557,196, there is an excess of females over males by 184,756! One of the saddest facts which the statistics reveal is the increase, not merely relative but absolute, of deaf-mutes, blind, insane, idiotic, and decrepit inhabitants. Contrasting 1851 with 1861, it will be found that whilst the population had decreased enormously, the number of deaf-mutes had increased by 473, on their former total of 5,180; the blind by 1,092, on their former total of 5,787; the lame and decrepit by 225, on their former total of 4,375; and the lunatic and idiotic by the immense number of 4,118, on their former total of 9,980; mounting up in 1861, notwithstanding a great decrease in the population, to 14,098. To France alone, after the scourging conscriptions of Napoleon, could Ireland be compared with any hope of finding a parallel for facts so lamentable.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.

THE value of the statistics annually compiled by the Registrar-General of Ireland might be considerably increased if they were extended so as to cover the agricultural classes as well as the live stock and the land. The public would then have certain facts on which an opinion concerning the condition of the country might be safely built; and we should be spared many theories and many mischievous mistakes. As it is, there are many important subjects ignored. The consequence is that partial views and one-sided theories are broached, and for a time become fashionable, which never would have appeared to mislead minds under a better planned system of registration. For instance, the statement that labourers receive higher wages than in former years may be paraded as a reason why they should be regarded as contented with their lot; they, on the other hand, may find that the prices of provisions and other necessaries have risen in an equal ratio with their pay. Agricultural statistics, which give with commendable minuteness,

copious details about the soil, the crops, and the live stock, and which only allude to human beings when incidentally recording the number of emigrants, must be pronounced imperfect. The defect is in the scheme laid down for the collection of the information ; it does not result from any inherent difficulty in obtaining it.

The Registrar-General states that, with scarcely an exception, the particulars given in the returns have been readily afforded to the enumerators by the various stockowners and occupiers of land in a manner highly creditable to their good feeling and intelligence. With this disposition of the people on the one hand, and the service of 4,000 efficient enumerators, selected from the constabulary and metropolitan police, on the other, Mr. Donnelly might confidently make a few additional enquiries, and thus render his returns more satisfactory. There need be nothing omitted of what is given. But unless we have a scale of the value of rent, labour, provisions, &c., the recorded value of live stock is of little service when we desire to apply it to determine the condition of the people. Besides, the values of stock, instead of being calculated from the fairs and markets of each year, are estimated according to the rates assumed by the Census Commissioners of 1841, and cannot therefore be relied upon as affording a close approximate amount, nor even furnishing a proper means of contrasting one year with another. Even if, for conve-

nience sake, the present system of computation of value be retained, the actual average prices obtained for live stock at the great annual fairs should certainly be subjoined.

There is another matter of importance omitted. In these General Abstracts we are not told how much of the live stock is due to imports—yet it is known that sheep, young and Spanish cattle have been imported. It will easily be seen, therefore, how difficult it ought to be to make sweeping conclusions from the statistical summaries.

Taking them, however, as they stand, we find that from the year 1859 to the year 1867, inclusive, there has been a steady annual decrease in the number of horses. Not only is the latter year inferior in that respect to the year which preceded it, but it stands lower than any year for which figures are given. In 1855 the number of horses was computed to be 556,287. It rose steadily until 1859, when it was 629,075; and from that year it began as steadily to decline, until in 1866 it fell to 535,799, and in 1867 to 522,348. In this respect, therefore, Ireland is poorer than she was nine years ago by 106,727 horses, or by more than one-fifth the whole number. Taking the rates assumed by the Census Commissioners and adopted by the Registrar-General, this represents a loss in money value of £853,816. To say, as has been said, that the decrease of the last-named year, as contrasted with the year previous, is due to a sudden

demand for Irish horses, sounds plausible at first; but it becomes ridiculous when the steady annual decline of eight consecutive years is considered.

Of cattle, the number given for 1859 is 3,815,598. Then followed for four years an annual decrease, and for the three years after a yearly increase, which, however, only raised the number in 1866 to 3,746,157; whilst in 1867 it has diminished by 43,779, and stands at 3,702,378. Thus, Ireland in this year has fewer cattle than she had nine years ago by 113,220, which represents in money value a diminution of £735,930.

Pigs in 1859 numbered 1,265,751, being a decrease on the preceding year. During the eight succeeding years their number has fluctuated. In three of them it rose above, but in five it sank below, the figures given. The number of the year 1867 is 1,233,893, and shows a decrease on previous year of 263,381, or in money value of £329,227, and in 1859 of 31,858, which in money value would be £39,822. In horses, cattle, and pigs, there has therefore been a diminution not only as compared with the year before, but as compared with 1859.

In the number of sheep only has there been an increase. In 1859 there were computed to be 3,592,804 sheep in Ireland; in 1867 there are 4,826,015. But during five out of the eight years succeeding the first date they were considerably fewer than in that year. In 1865, 1866, and 1867 only, have they exceeded it, and the last year surpasses it

by 1,233,209 sheep, represented in money value by £1,356,533.

Taking the years 1859 and 1867, we can therefore extract from the official figures the following contrast between the money-values of the several items :—

Year.	Horses.	Cattle.	Pigs.	Sheep.	Total Value.
	£	£	£	£	£
1859	5,032,600	24,801,387	1,582,188	3,952,084	35,368,259
1867	4,178,784	24,065,457	1,542,366	5,308,617	35,095,224

Thus the year 1867, which is inferior to 1866 by £114,491, is below 1859 in the value of live stock by £273,035 or more than a quarter of a million. It is inferior in horses, in cattle, and in pigs. These are the animals whose presence would indicate a healthy condition of agriculture; and their decrease, conjoined with so large an increase of sheep, is not a hopeful symptom. Indeed, if it were not for the augmentation of the latter item, the contrast between the two years would be very dark, for the difference would then be to the extent of over a million and a half against the year 1867.

In the extent of land under crops there is a decrease when we compare 1867 with 1866. Barley, turnips, meadow, and clover, cover an extended area, showing an increase of 95,952 acres; but flax and other green crops and cereals diminished by 157,575 acres; and thus there is a net decrease of 61,623 acres in the area under crops of all kinds. This is not a

symptom of prosperous management, especially when we have to add to it the fact that "bog and waste unoccupied" has increased by 13,176 acres.

Taking the cereals, the relative proportion of land under crops in the latter and the former year is stated as follows:—

	1866. Acres.	1867. Acres.	Increase. Acres.	Decrease. Acres.
Wheat . .	299,190	261,908	. .	37,082
Oats . .	1,699,695	1,659,412	. .	40,283
Barley . .	150,293	170,704	20,411	. .
Bere and Rye .	10,021	9,606	. .	415
Beans and Pease	14,834	13,507	. .	1,327

Thus the total area of land under cereal crops in 1866 amounted to 2,174,033 acres, whilst in 1867 it only reached 2,115,137, showing a net decrease of 58,896 acres. Comparing the last five years we find that wheat has fallen back almost to the same position as it occupied in 1863, whilst the cultivation of oats has been steadily decreasing year by year. Five years ago there were 1,953,883 acres under oats; in 1867 there are 294,471 acres less. Barley, though it is the sole crop which exhibits an increase over the previous year, only does so because that was an exceptional season; it stands in 1867 below what it was five years ago, and what it was in 1864 and 1865. In bere and rye there has been a trifling increase over the first two years of the five. But no season has yet shown so small an acreage under beans and pease.

In green crops, turnips take the position that barley does with respect to the cereals; that is, the crop is the only one which shows an increase, and this is only an increase over an exceptional season. The following abstract shows the area under the several crops for 1866 and 1867 :—

	1866. Acres.	1867. Acres.	Increase. Acres.	Decrease. Acres.
Potatos . . .	1,050,353	1,001,545	. .	48,808
Turnips . . .	317,198	335,711	18,513	. .
Mangold Wurtzel & Beetroot . .	20,162	18,805	. .	1,357
Cabbage . . .	36,531	24,021	. .	12,510
Carrots, Parsnips, and other green crops .	26,738	25.471	. .	1,267
Vetches and Rape .	30,623	26,699	. .	3,924

Thus, the total area of land under green crops in Ireland in 1866 was 1,481,605 acres, whilst in 1867 it has sunk to 1,432,252, being a decrease of 49,353 acres. Add to this a decrease of 10,402 in flax ; and we shall have flax, cereals, and green crops showing a net decrease of 118,651 acres. Meadow and clover have increased by 57,028 ; and thus there remains a total decrease of land under crops in 1867 as compared with 1866, of 61,623 acres. Considering the great increase of sheep it was to be expected that the area of grass should increase, which it has done to the extent of 52,828 acres. Fallow has likewise increased by 772 acres, whilst woods and plantations have

diminished by 5,153 acres. It will be easily seen, however, that the decrease of land under crops has not been counterbalanced by the increase of grass-land; and in 1867, as often before, a portion of the soil of Ireland has lapsed into a condition of "bog and waste unoccupied."

EARLY PHASES OF IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

THOSE who delight in expatiating on the irreconcileable race antipathies supposed to exist between the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt in these islands, appear incapable of imagining a time when such feelings were unknown. And yet it happens that when the people of England and Ireland were more purely composed of these races than they are at present, no such antipathy was exhibited. This fact is apparent on a first glance at the relations which existed between the two nations in the matter of education. Venerable Bede says that it was customary among the English from the highest to the lowest, to retire to Ireland for study and devotion, and further adds that there they were all hospitably received and supplied gratuitously with food, books, and instruction. Aldhelm, his contemporary, in a passage in which he shows his desire to exalt the credit of some of his own countrymen, corroborates this statement. "Why should Ireland," he asks, "whither troops of

students are daily transported, boast of such unspeakable excellence, as if in the rich soil of England, Greek and Roman masters were not to be found to unlock the treasures of divine knowledge? Though Ireland, rich and blooming in scholars, is adorned like the poles of the world with innumerable bright stars, Britain has her radiant sun, her great pontiff, Theodore." Yet Aldhelm admits that he himself received the chief part of his education at the hands of the Irish founder of that monastery of Malmesbury of which he was abbot. Camden likewise affirms that the migration of Anglo-Saxon students to Irish schools was the rule. Our Anglo-Saxons, he says, flocked in early times to Ireland as if to purchase goods. Hence it is frequently read in our historians on holy men, " he has been sent to Ireland to school."

It cannot be doubted that the prosperity of the Irish schools of learning was great, and that it was chiefly due to the high value set upon knowledge by the Irish people generally—an idea they have cherished under the most adverse circumstances of later times. In the *Senchus Mór* it is recorded that until St. Patrick arrived only three classes of persons were allowed to speak in public in Erinn : a chronicler, to relate events and tell historic tales ; a poet, to eulogise and satirize; a brehon (or judge), to pass sentence from the precedents and commentaries. After the Saint's arrival, however, their utterances were made subject to the ministers of the Gospel. Their dignity remained to them, and their privileges

were preserved. A doctor in philosophy or learning ranked next to the monarch at table; and whilst a king, by his mere word, could decide against every class of persons, an exception was made with regard to those of the two orders of religion and learning, who were of equal rank with himself, namely a doctor and a bishop.

The persons of men eminent in learning and the liberal arts were declared inviolable, and the doctor in philosophy had the privilege of conferring temporary inviolability on a person or place in his territory by having his wand borne round either. This gave sanctuary, and the person was free from arrest, and the place from injury, for a certain time afterwards. He was, indeed, a man of great importance in his territory, where he was allowed a permanent establishment of "twenty-one cows and their grass," and was entitled to keep two hounds and six horses. Whenever he went forth he was accorded, as of right, ample provision for himself and his retinue, to the number of twenty-four, under which head were included, sub-tutors, advanced pupils, and servants. But in order that he should be duly entertained and yet not exhaust his entertainer, he was forbidden to lodge or accept refection at the house of any person beneath the rank of a landlord-chief. They were legal referees upon questions of title, and the supreme chronicler of Erinn was always chosen from their ranks. But, as shown by O'Curry, to attain to such a

rank as theirs, a long and severe course of study, strictly regulated by law, was required as a preliminary.

The student had to devote himself for twelve years to learning his profession before he could receive this degree, but there were inferior degrees for him to obtain in succession before that of doctor. To each of these were attached, by law, certain emoluments and privileges. In his course of study was comprised, first a knowledge of genealogies, synchronisms, and the recital of historic tales; second, a knowledge of the seven kinds of verse, and how to measure them by letters and syllables; third, judgment of the seven kinds of poetry; and fourth, the acquiring of a facility for improvisation. On obtaining the lowest degree, he was bound to know twenty historic narratives for recital at public assemblies or feasts, when ordered by the doctor of philosophy in whose train he was studying; on receiving the highest degree, he needed to be conversant with seven fifties of these narratives.

Each degree was confirmed by the petty king on receiving his doctor's report on the candidate's fitness; to be admitted a graduate it was necessary that the latter should be certified to be pure of learning, of language, and of deed, and pure of union if married. Impurity caused him to "die in dignity;" and for a fraudulent judgment the graduate was degraded and deprived of his office and all its emoluments and privileges. In one mountainous principality, which is now a county, the endowments assigned for the

promotion of learning have been computed as being about equal to £2,000 a-year of our present currency.

Thus it will be seen that in ancient Ireland there was a career open to the student besides the sacerdotal, and prizes to tempt him to acquire knowledge other than those which might be found in the Church. The system of education which preceded the more modern University system in Ireland, took in the study of law, history, philosophy in a restricted sense, poetry, music, and languages. Its professors were highly honoured, and by the exercise of some talent and close application, the student saw that it was possible for him to attain a social position so high, that he would rank next his king. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that learning was highly regarded; it would have been surprising if it had not been so. A book would thus occasionally be thought sufficient for the ransom of a noble. A sanguinary war has arisen upon what was simply a question of copyright. This happened when St. Columba, having made a transcript of a book, its owner claimed the copy, and the king to whom the dispute was referred, decided in his favour, saying, "Let the calf follow the cow." Indeed, the chief peril that learning ran arose, not from neglect upon the part of chiefs or people, but from the arrogance and too great number of its professors, more especially of the bardic order, which was threatened with extinction once or twice, and only saved (as in 580) by a sweeping reform and reduction of its numbers.

The successive waves of invasion which burst upon the Irish shore laid waste all the land they touched. Men could not be expected to devote themselves to questions of abstract importance when they were annually called upon to defend their lives or protect their property from fierce irruptions. The Danish marauders, as they plundered and burned church, monastery, and the habitations of chief and noble, appear to have taken a perverse pleasure in destroying every manuscript on which they could lay hands. And when the Danes had been conquered, the Anglo-Norman invasion came to engage the inhabitants once more in a protracted struggle for life, land, and native institutions. Thus Ireland lost her prominent position in the ranks of learning at a time when it was most important for her future fame to retain and develop it.

And henceforth there were two cultures in the island, the colonial and the native. The former was confined first to the English Pale, and after the Reformation to the Protestants. The latter was driven back with independence from the eastern shore, and, after the Reformation, became confounded with Catholicism in a common persecution. It lingered long. Beyond the Plantation of James and the Settlement of Cromwell it survived to pass into banishment with the exiles, after the last siege of Limerick, from the Penal Laws of William.

The Anglo-Norman nobles, in spite of all enactments to the contrary, did become in many instances

" more Irish than the Irish themselves," and amongst the customs of the country which they cherished was that of assigning due maintenance to men of learning. When John visited Ireland his carping Welsh chaplain, Giraldus Cambrensis, declared that the skill of the Irish in music was " incomparably superior to that of any other nation." This was in the twelfth century. In the fourteenth century the bards are brought under our notice by the Statute of Kilkenny forbidding anyone to entertain them, and in the sixteenth century by Spenser, who urged the annihilation of their entire order. He thought the literary merit of their productions was considerable. " I have caused divers of these poems" he says, " to be translated unto me . . . and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention . . . sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device which gave good grace and comeliness unto them." It was apparently beyond the power of English statesmen to carry into effect the poet's wish for the destruction of the bards; for in 1600 we find them mustering strong and holding a great Bardic Contention, in which the claims to precedence of Northern and Southern chieftains were pleaded in verse. But thirty-two years later there was a greater sign of vitality in the assembling of historians, antiquaries, and monks, under the patronage of a northern chief, to gather and collate materials for the compilation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, a work which occupied them for four years. Addressing the chieftain under whose auspices it was begun,

one of the chief compilers wrote that they had been impelled to undertake it because they were concerned for the cloud which shadowed the learning of Ireland, and judged "that, should such a compilation be neglected at present, or consigned to a future time, a risk might be run that the materials for it should never again be brought together." This foreboding was justified by the event. The wars and confiscations of Cromwell and William followed, more sweeping than any which had preceded them, and the framework of society being utterly rent asunder, learning fell amongst the waters.

Some wandering minstrels, outlawed men, sang the cause of the Stuart and their country in Jacobite lays which yet survive; but over the heads of the bard, the schoolmaster, and the priest hung the sharp sword of the Penal Laws. Religion forbade its ministers to abandon the land to its fate, and the old desire for learning produced schoolmasters who might impart, against the law, some classical knowledge to those who desired to fill up the broken ranks of the ministry. Thus there were schools held in caves, in mountain glens, behind hedges (whence the name "hedge-school"), where forbidden knowledge was imparted by an outlawed man to illegal pupils, with a youthful sentry posted on some neighbouring eminence to give warning of the approach of the officers of the law. They did not always escape. But if it was penal to look for education at home, it was doubly penal to seek for it abroad, even in those col-

leges which Irish officers serving in France and Spain had built out of their pay, and which they endowed with certain burses that might be obtained and held by any of their kinsfolk, or of their name or native country.

But how was it in the English colony? At first the colonial monks were not too well disposed towards those whom they had displaced, and are even found occasionally refusing to admit them into the monasteries which had been built by them. But this hostility was overcome, and the English and Irish blended in a common mass of Catholics, when the political effects of the Reformation fell upon the Pale, and afterwards on the whole country. The monastery of All Hallows was dissolved, and its confiscated grounds given, in 1591, to be the site of a Protestant educational institute, known as Trinity College. At the accession of King James I., the Irish believed that he, being of the same race, and related to them in blood, would act justly by them, and they ventured to repair their abbeys and schools, and even to project new Universities. In the Roman Chapter of the Dominicans this desire for learning was met by directions being given to found five Universities—at Dublin, Cashel, Limerick, Athenry, and Coleraine. They even "had the confidence," wrote Cox, "to erect a University in Dublin in the face of the Government, which, it seems, thought itself limited in this matter by instructions from England."

They dreamed perhaps of renewing the fame of

Cashel, where, in 901, under Cormac, King and Archbishop, there are said to have been five thousand students and six hundred conventual monks; and of rivalling Lismore, which was reported to have had a like tale to tell. Perhaps they even hoped to compare favourably with Armagh, the greatest of the four ancient universities, which, in 513, is recorded to have had seven thousand pupils.

But their dreams were rudely dissipated. In 1632 the youthful Catholic University of Back Lane, in Dublin, was seized and handed over to Trinity College, which established a weekly lectureship there as a sort of standing protest against competition. From that time until quite recently, Trinity College has had no rival; and even yet, if it cannot destroy and absorb, it has been powerful enough to keep the Queen's University from establishing a college in Dublin, and to maim the Catholic University by preventing it from obtaining a charter.

THE BATTLE OF THE IRISH COLLEGES.

IT has been stated in a published letter, signed by "a Graduate of the University of Dublin," that this institution is a University in name only; and the statement is a correct representation of the reality. The Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth incorporated a College as "the Mother of a University," and as a matter of fact the so-called University of Dublin only exists to subserve the purposes of Trinity College, and not to guide or stimulate it. There being no other Colleges to send in competitors to the University Examinations, there has been no public test of the standard of education kept up. Outsiders consequently have had to take its value on the word of those whose interest it was to praise it, and who, in truth, have never missed their opportunity. Monopoly here as elsewhere brought its usual train of evils, and for many years Trinity College merited its name of the "Silent Sister" in more ways than one.

Nothing, perhaps, gives a more striking illustration of this than the contrast which is recorded between

the number of resident and the number of non-resident students. A College with a large staff of professors, with a great library, and many inducements, might naturally be expected to attract the larger portion of its enrolled students within its walls, especially when they almost all belong to the wealthier classes of the community.

But what is the fact as revealed by the Report of the Census Commissioners for 1861? They found that on the 17th of May, there were 147 resident, and 926 non-resident students! The resident students were composed of 132 members of the Established Church, 5 Catholics, 4 Presbyterians, and 6 members of other persuasions.

"The total of students for the year 1861," says the Commissioners, "as given by the University calendar, amounted to 1,073, from which if we deduct 147 residents, the remainder, 926, will represent with sufficient probability the number of non-residents."

Engaged in teaching as professors, lecturers, assistants, 58 persons are named in the Dublin Official Directory for last year, to which, if we add 11 preachers, 3 museum curators, and 1 professor, whose chair was then vacant, would give a total of 73. Dividing this number by the number of resident students, we should have as a result each member of the teaching body driving his chariot of education with a tandem team of two students. This would not be quite fair; for the students are not so apportioned, and there are many other considerations to be taken into account.

However, on referring to the tables showing the number of persons receiving instruction "at Colleges of Universities and other Colleges" in the City of Dublin, we find that the total number "attending colleges" during the week ending on the 13th of April was only 161; and if from this we deduct 14 students of a Catholic College, we find the remainder, 147, to correspond with the number of resident students of Trinity College. Can there be a flaw proved against these figures? Of anything that would qualify them, and suggest the reasonableness of attributing a greater number of residents, we can find no hint; as the Chief Commissioner is both a Protestant and a graduate of the institution, it is impossible to suppose the existence of either ill-will or of ignorance.

In the Queen's Colleges attendance on lectures is compulsory: students do not reside in the Colleges, as in Trinity College, but lodge in the towns. Non-residence, however, in the sense in which it is understood there—non-attendance on lectures (the students presenting themselves merely at certain periodical examinations)—is not permitted by the regulations of the Queen's University. This, in part, accounts for the fact that the college which some have regarded as the most unprosperous of the three Queen's Colleges—that of Galway—returned 143 students as attending its lectures, a number almost identical with that of the resident students in Trinity College.

The number of persons named as engaged in teaching in the Queen's College, Galway, is only 18.

There are 4 deans of residences, indeed, but they are only nominally connected with the college. Setting aside 13 teachers and assistants in Trinity College as being connected with Divinity and Ecclesiastical History, and the 11 preachers, we should have a remainder of 49. Before a permanent settlement of the Irish University Question can be made, it must be determined whether 18 professors in the Queen's College, Galway, can actually do as much, or nearly as much, work as 49 in Trinity College; and, if so, whether it would not be better to reduce the number in the latter institution, and make a redistribution of salaries. The non-resident students could be affiliated directly to a reformed university, in a manner somewhat similar to that proposed with respect to others under the supplemental charter of the Queen's University.

Trinity College would thus be delivered from that factitious importance it derives from its long roll of absent men. By judicious regulations these men—who seem to dislike going to the Dublin College—might be induced to withdraw from their private "cramming" and attend lectures in some one of the provincial colleges of the new University. If such a scheme as this were adopted, the Catholic University would rank with Trinity College as a denominational establishment, and each could be recognized as the directing head of the superior schools of its own denomination. The mixed system and the denominational system could thus be put on a footing of

equality, and be allowed to prove themselves in free and fair competition. This is the plan which finds favour with those who, like Mr. Gladstone, do not think that a multiplication of universities tends to raise or keep up the standard of education. It would of course be easy to make such alterations compatible with a scheme of three universities, and there cannot be a doubt that whilst over multiplication would degrade the standard, a certain amount of competition generally proves wholesome, and hinders education from becoming the victim of an unprogressive and rigid routine.

Supposing the contemplation of a plan which would give the governing councils of Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges, and the Catholic University, directing powers over the secondary colleges or high-schools appropriated to each,—the next question is of their relations to each other in a common university; would there not be too much disproportion between them to permit of their being thus brought together as equals? All inequality would soon sink into insignificance when the non-resident students of Trinity College would be abstracted either by direct affiliation to the university or by being induced to distribute themselves amongst convenient provincial colleges. Indeed taking Trinity College as it is, with the number of resident students given it by the Census Commissioners, and comparing it with the Queen's Colleges, it does not appear to stand even first in numbers. It might of course differ in the future, and

the Census Commissioners may have wronged it somehow, but taking their computations we can construct the following table, showing the distribution of students in the year named:—

	Members of the Established Church.	Catholics.	Presbyterians.	Other persuasions.
Trinity College . .	132	5	4	6
Queen's College, Belfast	56	22	191	43
„ „ Cork .	32	40	1	4
„ „ Galway	33	84	19	7

Thus the Belfast College, with 312 students, would precede Trinity College, which had but 147—or less than half as many. Galway would follow close upon it, and then Cork, which, however, usually has a larger number of students than Galway. In the Sessions 1864–5 the number of matriculated students attending the Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway was respectively 354, 249, 157, according to the Official Directory. The number of students attending lectures in the Northern College owes part, at least, of its superiority to the fact of many Presbyterian divinity students attending some of their secular lectures there. But, if we deducted the Church of England divinity students from the class-roll of residents in Trinity College, their numbers would be seriously reduced. The Belfast College has only a dozen and a half professors against the four dozen of Trinity; and yet, to believe official figures, it had more than twice as

many students at its lectures. Surely there is reason for enquiry here. And to these contrasts must be added the fact that at Trinity College the highest salaries are given to those who do next to nothing. Cleansed and pruned, with its staff reduced and salaries redistributed, there is no reason to fear that the ability of its professors would be cramped or its halls scantily furnished with real students.

It would be most unwise, however, to carry the pruning process to the extreme to which it is now being extended in the Queen's Colleges. To some of the chairs there, totally inadequate salaries have been attached; and in order to enable the professors to live respectably, it has been decided—not to increase those salaries but—to compel one professor to teach three or four subjects; so that by thus occupying several chairs he may collect a sufficient income. Such a system tends directly, and of necessity, to prevent scientific men from assisting in the progress of science.

There was a third institution in Dublin which Sir Robert Peel thought might have been converted into a Metropolitan Queen's College, and which it has been proposed to affiliate to the Dublin University together with the Catholic College. This was the Museum of Irish Industry, which has since been constituted an Irish College of Science. The foundation of this Museum, as well as that of the Queen's University, gave a wholesome shock to the monopolists of the University of Dublin. Their first thought in both

instances was to attack, and absorb if possible; and when it was found that that could not well be done they strained their influence to make their supposed rivals "safe." The overwhelming disproportion between Catholic and Protestant professors in colleges destined for a population so largely Catholic, is a testimony to the success of their shrewd foresight with respect to the Queen's University. Happily for them, perhaps, but unhappily for the prospective popularity of the new College of Science, their Conservative friends have taken up the plan for it in the same spirit. In addition to the college complication, we have been given another, and the public will quickly appreciate this new example of the skill of Conservative politicians in building ruins. But, as in the question of Reform, these tricks and stratagems will precipitate, rather than delay, a more radical revision of the whole question.

THE MONOPOLISTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

THE sensations of the engineer hoisted with his own petard could hardly be less agreeable than the feelings which, since the division on Mr. Fawcett's first motion, have possessed the partisans of educational monopoly in Ireland. For some time the monopolists of the University of Dublin have been assiduously playing a double game; and their tortuous policy has at length brought its reward. At first, they supported the denominational scheme against the mixed system as represented by the national schools; and to the Queen's Colleges they bore no great good will. Their open enmity to them was bought off by a concession, and no college under the new system was established in Dublin. Representatives of their views were placed upon the governing body of the new University to watch over and guide its progress; and if, like Archbishop Whately at the National Education Board, they sapped the outworks of their theological adversaries, they had, like him, to act "with one hand,

and that the best, tied behind." However it came about, the measures taken to perfect the plan of the new college system were calculated to make it gradually less mixed and at the same time more unpopular. The professorial staff of the Belfast College was strictly Protestant. It was leavened, indeed, by one Catholic professor of Celtic languages, whose post was made a sinecure by the regulations adopted, and who, consequently, resided in Dublin. He is dead; but appearances are saved by one Catholic medical professor being placed on the list. Care indeed is taken that no prominent chair in Arts shall be filled by a Catholic in any of the colleges, but men are not allowed to say that in the teaching element the mixed system is not visible.

To promote the interests of this system sincerely in a province where party spirit runs so high as in Ulster, it was especially needful to give Catholics a fair representation on the teaching body. It has been urged that there would have been no possibility of getting Catholics sufficiently educated to fill their proportion of chairs. The character of the argument is apparent from the fact that to accept it we must believe France and Germany incapable of producing Catholics to hold Professorships of Modern Languages in the three colleges. Nor can any one who knows that almost all the judges are Catholics, believe that if capable Catholics had considered the professorships really open to their ambition, they would not have aspired to several of them. In the Southern and

Western Colleges of Cork and Galway it was requisite that, among populations so overwhelmingly Catholic, Catholic professors should be in a more visible proportion in the teaching body. They were admitted accordingly; but still they were kept chiefly to one faculty—that of Medicine. In both colleges they are in a minority; and the worthlessness of the argument we have quoted is singularly illustrated by the fact, that whilst the number of educated Catholics must have increased during the existence of these colleges, the number of Catholics on the teaching body has not only not increased in the same ratio, but has diminished!

Under such conditions as these, it was most improbable that the colleges should become popular, whatever might be the impartiality, ability, and earnestness, of the professors. It is difficult not to suspect that the appointments were controlled by a sinister influence which had no desire to make the colleges popular, but regarded them as outposts that should in prudence be taken possession of in the interests of ascendancy.

At all events, it would appear that the monopolists of the University of Dublin considered themselves to have made the new collegiate system "safe;" for they are next found, with a rapid change of front, ardent in its defence. Mr. Whiteside showed signs of this studied policy when he concluded his speeches on the Education question, in Parliament, by swallowing his early utterances, and defending what he had before

attacked. The National System of mixed schools was no longer the danger it had been, though possibly it may now have become perilous again, since the Commissioners have at length decided that teachers are not under certain pretences to give religious instruction to children of another creed. Mr. Whiteside's confession of faith was a fair indication of what might afterwards be expected. The representatives of Trinity College on appropriate occasions followed suit with dignified alacrity. When the question recently arose of a connection between the Queen's University and the Catholic University, the subject might have been supposed to be one which chiefly concerned themselves. But, in point of fact, it occasioned as much, if not more, excitement to their elder sister, whose opinion was not asked for at all. An ostentatious affection for the mixed system was suddenly developed at the headquarters of denominational ascendancy; the Provost's house demonstration was made; and its declaration in favour of the mixed system was hawked about for signature among its influential supporters.

The Chancellor of the University of Dublin had been appointed upon the Senate of the Queen's University, but had rarely, if ever, attended its meetings. It might have been expected that as the Chancellor of another University, he would be disposed to make a point of absenting himself when the question of the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Supplemental Charter came on for discussion in the Senate. On

the contrary, he took the exceptional course of being present, and employed his influence as Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and his vote as a senator, against the acceptance of a charter which would have enabled the Queen's University Senate to admit to degrees whomsoever it thought worthy of admission. By the filling up of vacancies the Senate had, for the first time, been made to consist of Protestants and Catholics in almost equal proportions. These proportions, it is true, bore no reference to the relative numbers of each religious belief as constituting the population of the country; but if the Catholic majority was satisfied with having simply one-half of the Senate of its own religion, there was no ground for complaint. Complaint, however, came from the other side, in the ludicrous form of an allegation that by such an arrangement the Senate was "packed," or, in other words, that the ascendancy party would no longer be allowed to manage matters in their own way. But they succeeded in making the Senate's acceptance of the Supplemental Charter of no avail; and thus have, in their sense, saved the mixed system. They wanted no denominational system but their own. To save that, they would, indeed, if necessary, follow a different course.

They have cried so long and so loud, however, in favour of the mixed system, and have made so many protestations about liberality and equality in matters of education, that they have attracted the attention of Liberals who are disposed to take them at their

word. It did not require long observation to discover that if, like Milton's lion, they were fair to view in front, and strong of roar, they were also caught by their hinder parts in gross earth ; and Professor Fawcett accordingly came forward to liberate them from the earthy system of denominational ascendancy which clung so closely about their heels and marred the symmetry of their aspect, as well as the consistency of their arguments. Judged by their own words, and by their acts with regard to others, they should have welcomed his intervention ; but in point of fact they strenuously repelled it, and now regard its consequences with dismay. They would deliver others, but will not be liberated themselves. And when they are made to feel that the mixed system, which they have been thrusting on their neighbours, may possibly be offered for their own enjoyment, they can only appeal to their former antagonists with mingled supplication and reproach. Lord Naas, in the subsequent debate on the state of Ireland, said he had been surprised " at the division which had taken place the other day on this subject. A motion on that occasion had been brought forward by the honourable member for Brighton, insinuating in the strongest and plainest terms the necessity for a system of mixed education in the University. An amendment was moved by the right honorable gentleman the member for Limerick, which, if it meant anything at all, meant that the system to be pursued in the college in future should be a denominational one. . . . He was

. . . surprised to find that the amendment was subsequently withdrawn, and the advocates of denominational education in the Universities going into the lobby with those who were in favour of a directly opposite system." This is a naïve revelation of the ideas on which the policy we have indicated was founded. Its originators fancied that, having made the mixed system "safe," they could appeal to it, now and again, as a serviceable commonplace, and use it to divide the Catholic from the Protestant Liberals. By this means they hoped to be able to repel any attempt on the part of the Catholics to obtain equality in educational rights which they believed would be injurious to themselves, as endangering the ascendancy. That they had no unselfish love for the system of united education is plain, since the moment their immediate interest is not concerned in its advocacy they drop it, and resort again to their old arm of denominationalism. Their object next is to separate the Catholic from the Protestant Liberals; and they change weapons with a readiness which shows them to be burdened by no other principle but that of self-preservation.

The advocates of the Queen's University as it was will not be long in learning that they have wasted their money when they took to opposing the Supplemental Charter by raising technical points of law. There is no great improbability in supposing that an attempt will be made to settle the Education question in a way which it is hoped will indeed preserve Tri-

nity College and the Dublin University intact, but will not much benefit either of their rivals. The Catholic University may be chartered :* the consequences, it is trusted, will be that ultimately the Dublin University, and Trinity College will be no losers. Let the Catholic University drain off the Catholic students from the Queen's Colleges to any considerable extent, and their doom is sealed. Of course, if the Catholic members of the House of Commons then allow them to remain, well and good; but if an agitation arises against them when they are thus weakened, one or two of the Southern Colleges can be sacrificed, and the remnant of their students drafted in to swell the undergraduate ranks of Trinity College. There would be no longer any reason to keep up a Queen's University in Dublin for granting degrees to students from Belfast. The Queen's College there could be affiliated to one or other of the two Universities and thus a useless expenditure would be saved. The Catholic University would, on principle, be bound to decline such affiliation in the improbable event of its being sought; but the Dublin University need not do so. On the contrary, having opened its arms to the forlorn College, it would be then happily in that impregnable position in which some far-sighted admirers would fain see it

* The negotiations of the Conservatives with the Catholic Bishops which have since taken place, and the manner in which their offer of a charter and partial endowment was made, received, and withdrawn, are of too recent date to need comment.

to-day. Form an unsectarian college, they urge, and connect it with the University, and it will serve as a shield to protect Trinity College and its endowments. Without either difficulty or expense the same purpose would be served by the affiliation of such an "unsectarian" college as the Belfast Queen's College is; and thus the defenders of Dublin University would be ready for all opponents. Should a project be mooted which might disturb its privileges, they could as the occasion suited either repel it as an infidel attack upon the bulwark of a godly system of denominational education, or denounce it as a jesuitical assault upon the last stronghold of a system of united and unsectarian education. Prepared for either fate, and retaining its privilege of serving as a gangway to office for aspiring lawyers, the University would not lack ready-witted and double-tongued defenders.

IRISH PRIESTS AND UNIVERSITIES.

HOWEVER opinions may differ as to the best way of settling the question of Irish University Education, no impartial man can doubt that an effective settlement is urgently required. Perhaps the most powerful argument for it is the statement made by the Census Commissioners of 1861 as to the number of persons who annually take their degrees in the two recognized Universities. From a ten years' average of the numbers graduating in the University of Dublin and the Queen's University, the Commissioners thought they could obtain a sufficiently fair representation of the number yearly receiving University education in Ireland. And what was this annual average? Only 335, or 0·006 per cent. of the whole population! The Commissioners contrast this result with the per centage recorded for Belgium in 1850, which stood at 0·017; for Austria in 1853–4, where it rose to 0·026; and for Prussia in 1852, where it was 0·028. Make what allowances we may for defects in computation, the contrast presented here is too

marked to permit us to believe that University education in Ireland is in a satisfactory state.

It is sufficiently plain that existing systems lie, as geologists say, unconformably with the inclinations of the people. The two Universities as at present constituted have not won popular confidence; and even if they were as theoretically admirable as their partizans maintain, that would not be a sufficient reason for allowing things to remain as they are. When we want work done, it is not the machine which will look best and do least that our engineers employ, but that which, even if not so ideally perfect, will do most. To engage a more adequate per centage of the people in University studies is the great need; and in the face of such facts as we have quoted, it cannot be reasonably maintained that this is a time to preserve educational monopolies. To do so is a flagrant contradiction both of common sense and liberal ideas. But yet there seems to be a lingering belief in some men's minds that with regard to Ireland they should reverse their ordinary principles of action, and oppose all exceptional legislation which is not directed against the multitude—that they should sustain free trade everywhere, and in all things, except with respect to education in a country where, in that respect, it has been so persistently and so largely demanded.

What influences some, no doubt, is a motive which for want of a better term may be called religious. Men whose profession it is to judge public questions on their merits, irrespective of religious considerations,

are found when Ireland is in question to refer to those very considerations as the reasons for their conclusion. They allow their judgment to be warped by a fear that if Catholics are placed on a footing of strict equality with Protestants as regards education, clerical influence and bigotry will be supreme in Ireland. If this fear has any valid basis, the tone of French and American Catholics who have been educated in denominational colleges should be adduced to justify it, but it is little to say that they are never referred to for the purpose. In particular, the harmony in which educated Catholics in America live with the population around them would not serve the argument; and neither in Canada nor in Australia has the denominational system been declared injurious from any similar point of view.

But even supposing that to incorporate the Catholic University of Dublin as a University College, or to charter it as a University, would be to give into the hands of the priests the higher education of the Catholics, what follows? Would it, as a matter of fact, develop, increase, and extend priestly influence? It will hardly be denied that half-educated men are more likely to be swayed by external influence than men who have enjoyed all the advantages of the higher education. And an examination of the subject will show that, with trifling exceptions, Catholic intermediate education is now altogether in the hands of the priests. Changes such as those proposed could not well, therefore, develop, increase, or extend their

influence; they would only render those over whom it is exerted more intelligent and more capable of rightly appreciating it.

How important it is to recognize and consider these facts may best be understood by attending to a few official computations. According to these, in 1834 there were 96 Protestant schools for superior education, attended by 4,240 pupils, whilst there were only 23 Catholic schools for the same purpose, with an attendance of only 1,484 pupils. At the last census, however, the number of superior schools distinctively Protestant had declined to 60, and their pupils to 2,075, being a decrease of schools by 36, and of pupils by 2,165. On the other hand, the Catholic superior schools had risen in number to 86, whilst their pupils had increased to 4,962. Thus we have here an augmentation of schools by 63, and of pupils by 3,478. The Census Commissioners point out that this increase of Catholic superior schools is due to the fact that whilst superior education had been provided for Protestants in chartered and endowed institutions much more nearly than it had been provided by voluntary efforts for others, the Catholics had to create anew all the higher orders of schools from their own resources. The reasoning halts. It does not account for the strange decrease in the number of Protestant schools and pupils, but it does allow us to foresee a further increase and development of Catholic superior schools. We may reasonably infer from these facts that whilst a refusal to make some such concessions as

those demanded may obstruct superior education in Ireland, it will be as ineffectual to guide it into another channel in the future as it has been in the past.

The question of the age of pupils in these superior schools is one which is equally worthy of notice. According to Tables XII. and XIII. of the Report on Religion and Education, there was a gross total of 20,819 pupils receiving education in these institutions. Strange as the fact may appear when we take into consideration the social status of members of the several persuasions, Catholics are here in an absolute majority over members of the Established Church and Presbyterians. According to this Report, 10,178 Catholics were in school-attendance during the week ending the 13th of April, 1861, against 7,433 members of the Established Church, 1,974 Presbyterians, and 1,234 members of other persuasions. Of these 5,792 Catholics, 5,002 members of the Established Church, and 1,249 Presbyterians were males. Apportioned according to age, the number of males in attendance stood as follows:—

	Catholics.	Members of the Established Church.	Presbyterians.
Under 5 years	68	36	13
5 and under 15...	3,454	3,636	938
15 and upwards, and unspecified	2,270	1,330	298

Thus, whilst the Protestant pupils are in an absolute majority when taken at the ages of from five to fifteen,

the Catholic in attendance at an age of fifteen and upwards greatly exceed in number all Protestants put together. More than two-thirds of the Presbyterians, almost two-thirds of the members of the Established Church, retire from the superior schools at the age of fifteen; whilst on the contrary scarcely one-third of the Catholics are thus withdrawn. What is the natural inference? Evidently that the former are drafted into Universities, and reappear at the Queen's Colleges or upon the roll of residents or non-residents of Trinity College.

Over a thousand Catholic pupils should have gone away with them, but they do not see the course clear before them, and so they remain in these superior schools to get all the education they will ever get from teachers. The abstract desirableness of a University degree has never had an opportunity of taking root in their minds, and the difficulties that have intervened of late years have had a tendency to withdraw them from any thought of it. Of course from the number of those who should go through a University after leaving school must be deducted a certain proportion who would be immediately absorbed into business; but this is an argument for rather than against the Catholics, since it is not their decrease but their persistence at school at an advanced age which is in question.

By Table XVI. of the same Report from which we have already quoted, we find that, on the 17th of May, 1861, the number of Catholic males attending

classical schools under societies or boards was 1,984; attending classical private schools, 3,134; attending mixed schools under societies or boards, 16; and attending mixed private schools, 1,026.

Now it is necessary to understand that when the Census Commissioners speak of Catholic Classical Schools under "Societies or Boards," they mean that these schools are under the control and direction of religious orders or congregations of the Clergy. The Augustinians, Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, Marists, Oblates, Trappists, and Vincentians have twenty such schools, with 1,649 pupils.

An ordinary reader, however, would be still more likely to be misled by the expression "classical private schools," and to fancy that these, at all events, were under lay direction. They include, however, the great group of episcopal seminaries which exist in numerous dioceses, and which are, as a matter of course, under the immediate guidance and control of the Bishops. They are said to correspond with the *Petits Seminaires* of France, and the comparison is to a certain extent correct. Candidates for the priesthood receive at them a course of education which qualifies them for the exclusively clerical colleges, such as Maynooth. On passing an examination held at certain seasons, they are drafted into them. These seminaries are fifteen in number, and they muster 1,202 pupils. But in all of them, with one exception in Dublin, the larger proportion of the pupils are not intended for the clerical state. These pupils, too,

should have their seasons of examination, when they would be drafted into University Colleges, but they have nothing of the sort. They remain to "complete" their course as best they may.

Some, no doubt, but few comparatively from these and other institutions, go to the Queen's Colleges and Trinity College. They go, however, solely for the purpose of obtaining in professional degrees a means of livelihood. They do not go to liberalize their minds by a complete University course. And the consequence is that, whilst the colleges at Cork and Galway show a comparatively large number of Catholics amongst their medical graduates, the case is far otherwise with the faculty of Arts.

Those who oppose any change in the Irish University system for fear of "clerical influence" should reconsider their position. It is clear that what they have succeeded in doing has been no injury to that influence. They have delivered over the laity almost wholly into the hands of the clergy for education. And they have done much more. They have endowed a college where the clergy may proceed for their own degrees, whilst they have weighted the laity, and hindered them from rising to an equality with the clergy in education. What could more effectually make the young layman feel his inferiority to an ecclesiastic than to note how the latter is taken from the provincial seminary to Maynooth, whilst he himself must for ever be satisfied with what modicum of information he gets from the seminary teachers?

Moreover, if the obstructives are successful for a little longer they may perhaps destroy the possibility of creating or perfecting a wholesome university system —a system which shall oxygenate the current of education in those colleges and seminaries by affiliating them to a high university college.

For the University of London has sent out its examiners to hold examinations in certain of these provincial institutions, and thus to convert them, with all their imperfections, into virtual universities, whilst others are only disputing about the question.

THE SUPPLEMENTAL CHARTER.

THE grant of the Supplemental Charter to the Queen's University has been made the occasion of heaping odium on Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party. The fortunate chance which gave their opponents the reins of power immediately after, gave them also opportunities of conspicuously displaying their virtuous indignation; whilst the fate that brought the disputed legal questions before Conservative judges, though it may not have influenced the tedious judgment, availed to have it pointed with a sneer.

The opposition which the Supplemental Charter encountered would seem surprising, were it not a matter of notoriety that monopolies never relax their hold, without a desperate struggle. Religious and political passions were evoked to oppose it, and yet the alteration was only an extension of powers given to the University to enable it to affiliate colleges, and admit to degrees persons whom it thought qualified. That indeed meant that the students of the Catholic University College would be relieved of the penal ban

which forbade them to obtain degrees; and the party which resisted Catholic emancipation resisted this, objecting, as usual, that the enfranchised Catholics would come down, in a flood, and overwhelm everything.

There were others who sincerely, but erroneously, believed it would prove the cause of immediate ruin to the Queen's Colleges. They argued that the Catholic clergy would compel the students of their persuasion to go to Dublin, to the Catholic College; but then, on the other hand, some of them proclaimed that, though they objected to the Supplemental Charter, they had no such ineradicable objection to a chartered Catholic University. It is impossible to see how the same reasons do not apply in both cases. A different theory was started by the President of the Queen's College, Galway, and has obtained some popularity in certain quarters. He undertook to show that young Irish students were devoted to the mixed system, and resented any alteration. He omitted to prove one great point, namely, that these colleges, with only a very small minority of Catholic professors, are good representatives of the mixed system, and are esteemed as such. He passed over the important fact, also, that these colleges would remain as they were, and that the University would still be conducted on the mixed system, because it would still continue to examine students of different religious persuasions; the only difference being that the number of Catholics going up for examination would be more near

their proper proportion than before, and that the increase came from a denominational college.

Mr. Berwick, like most others connected with the Queen's Colleges, is an estimable, upright, and honourable gentleman, but here we have simply a question of reasoning to deal with. What argument, then, does he bring forward in support of his view? This, that the moment the Supplemental Charter was issued to widen the doors of the University, students began to desert the three Colleges which had heretofore enjoyed the monopoly of it. That this should be cited as a proof of their attachment to the mixed system looks very much like irony on Mr. Berwick's part; but he intends nothing of the kind. The change effected by the Supplemental Charter left it to the discretion of the Senate to select what college or colleges they thought fit for affiliation; but it placed the students of the already affiliated Colleges in no worse position than before. There would have been under its operation a few more candidates presenting themselves for degrees and university honours, but the apprehension of that could frighten none but the faint-hearted. It is Mr. Berwick's fancy, however, that what scared away students was the dread of the Colleges becoming sectarianized. Such conduct is unusual with devotees. Commonly when the object they hold dear is exposed to attack, they rush to uphold it. The best defence of this College system would have been to show that it had so won the hearts of the people that the halls were crowded. Besides, it would have

been expected that if it were something they fervently admired, they would wish to enjoy its benefits as long as they could, and make a special display of this desire at the moment when they feared they might soon loose it for ever. Instead of this, we are asked to believe that they have set at nought or contravened all the ordinary laws which regulate the manifestations of the affections—that they have fled from what they loved, refused what they wished, and neglected what they desired to uphold. "Here again another proof is afforded of the devotion of the laity to unsectarian institutions," writes Mr. Berwick, when describing the decrease of the last two years. "when the mere suspicion that the sectarian element was to be introduced into the Colleges has already scared so many of all persuasions from their class-rooms."

The diminution, in the two years, in the number of entrances has been to the extent of 27 members of the Established Church, 19 Catholics, 27 Presbyterians, and 2 members of other denominations—in all of 75 —so runs his return. If the absent men were scared away, it would have been interesting to be told to what per centage each denomination had been subject to the influence of fear of change. Although we have not had this given, we find material for another equally interesting calculation. In Galway College the number of Presbyterians entering, for instance, amounted, in the session 1858-9, to 7 students; in the succeeding sessions, it reached in each, respectively, to 1, 12, 6, 16, 11, 13, 10, and to 7 again in the session

just over. Was it a confidence in the permanence of the mixed system that raised the number of entering Presbyterians from 1 in 1859-60 to 12 in 1860-61? And, if so, how comes it that we have the inverse of this fluctuation shown in the case of the non-matriculated students, who, numbering 5 entries in 1859-60, could show but 1 in 1860-1? Did those specified as "non-matriculated students" see cause for despair where the "Presbyterians" discerned ground for twelve-fold hope? Again, the entries of members of the Established Church increased only by 1 in the years named, rising from 12 to 13. Are they more tepid or merely less sanguine than their dissenting brethren? One "Independent," and one classed under the head of "Various," entered for the session of 1859-60; during the three and two years following, respectively, none of either class entered at all. Consequently we have the Presbyterians increasing by twelve times their number; the members of the Established Church by one-twelfth; the non-matriculated diminishing to one-fifth, and the Independents and "Various" disappearing totally. Before accepting Mr. Berwick's explanation of the last two years, we should require him to show cause for fluctuations so dissimilar. Taking the students as these returns exhibit them, it is plain that a uniform rule does not govern their increase or diminution; and to reason from either increase or diminution in any way which supposes the uniform action of the same cause is clearly full of risk. We see that, in 1866–7, the num-

ber of Presbyterians entering was 7, the same exactly as it had been the eighth session before. What is very singular is that the eighth session previous to that exhibits again the mystic number 7. Their record of entrances may thus be divided into cycles; and there are men who would oppose to Mr. Berwick's lamentation the theory that an inexorable natural law has caused the falling-off in this instance, and that his deductions are so far untenable. Indeed, if it be the "mere suspicion of sectarianism" that accounts for the decrease during the years 1865, 1866, the Wesleyan Methodists must be the least suspicious people alive; for during these two sessions they show in Galway the largest number of entrances they ever had! Never exceeding 2 any previous year, they stood at zero in the session 1864-5, whilst in those two years they had increased to 3 in either session. In Belfast, also, they reached their maximum in 1866–7. Never previously having shown a number of entrances greater than 6, and that only once, they stood at 3 in the fourth, and 3 in the fifth year back. In 1865-6, however, they had increased to 5, and in 1866–7, they had risen to the unexampled number of 10. These figures weaken the force of Mr. Berwick's argument and spoil the pathos of his appeal for immobility.

He is not much happier on one or two other vital points. In his report for the year ending on the 31st of March, 1866, it became his duty to point out the great and sudden interruption which had occurred in

the progress of the Galway College as well as in that of its sister institutions in Belfast and Cork. Instead of an increase there had been a decrease, the "attendances on lectures being in session 1864-5, 837; in 1865-6, 788" Nor did the entrances into the Colleges, he adds, exhibit a more satisfactory result than the attendances on lectures. These entrances which had risen from 207 in session 1859–60, to 288 in 1864–5, fell in 1865–6 to 241. For various reasons Galway College has felt the change most of all; but the statistics of 1866–7 not only as regards it, but as regards all the Colleges, will, he believes, justify the warfare against the Supplemental Charter. The numbers attending lectures in the three Colleges, which in 1865–6 amounted still to 788, have in 1866–7 further decreased to 732. The entrances, which in 1865–6 reached 241, have still further diminished to 213. The diminution of numbers attending lectures in the several Colleges may be shown as follows :—

	Belfast.	Cork.	Galway.
1864–5 . .	405	263	169
1866–7 . .	384	230	135

The entrances, he adds, have fallen with still greater precipitance. In Belfast, in the sessions named, they decreased from 135 to 105; in Cork from 90 to 76; in Galway from 70 to 44. "Little wonder is it," runs his comment, "that the policy adopted by the late Government, and embodied in the Supplemental Charter, should have been received with exultation by

all the enemies of the Colleges, who, while obtaining from the new Charter no one additional substantial privilege for the institutions they support, saw in its immediate operation the results I have just described —in its slower but equally sure effects the overthrow of one, if not of two of these institutions."

As a matter of fact, was there at the beginning of the session of 1865-6 any such public certainty of the speedy grant of the Supplemental Charter as would reasonably account for the falling off in the number of entrances, supposing for the moment that the granting of it would really have the effect of frightening away intending students? On referring to the Report of the President of the Belfast College we find his statement suggesting a radically different view from that entertained by Mr. Berwick: "During the session of 1866–7, 387 students were in attendance in the different departments of the College," he says—"precisely the same number that appeared on the rolls in the session 1863–4." It is to be remarked that he adds that in the two intervening years the attendance had been "unusually" large. "Taking into consideration," he continues, "the diminution still going on in the population of this country, the incessant demand in this locality for the services of young men in the various departments of business and trade, the establishment of new seats of learning in various places, the increase in the number of 154 students on the rolls in the year 1854, up to 387 in the present year, must be regarded as a gratifying and encourag-

ing result." There is no word of the Supplemental Charter here—no word of the effect of the shadow it cast before. But the question of "unusually large" attendance is worth following up; it may be found to cover more than the two years specified.

On examination of the tabular returns, there seems to have been something peculiar in the session of 1860-61. At that date the Colleges appear to have suddenly become more interesting to students. In Belfast, for instance, the number of entrances had fluctuated from 93 in 1850-51 to 90 in 1859-60, always keeping below this figure, and once reaching only 54. The number 90 in 1859-60 was an increase of but two on the number of the preceding year. In 1860-61, however, it had sprung at one bound from 90 to 137, rising in the next session to 152, but afterwards gradually subsiding again until in 1866 it had sunk to 106, or more nearly its former level. In Galway College the total number of entrances reached its highest point, before the eventful session in the year 1858-59 (excluding, of course, the number recorded for the opening year of the College). At the date named it amounted to 48, being an increase of 5 on the two preceding sessions; it decreased, however, by 8 next year, the session of 1859-60 having had only 40 entrances. Notwithstanding this, in the peculiar session of 1860-61 it jumped up and reached the unexampled total of 60, gradually increasing for two or three years, and then subsiding again. Its record of 44 for 1866 shows a return to the origi-

nal state, after its transitory fever-fit. In Cork College, likewise, there was a fluctuation in the number of entrances from 99 in 1850–1 to 87 in 1859–60; never at any intervening time did they exceed or even equal the lesser of these two totals. However, here again we find a curious augmentation shown in 1860–1, when the number reached 102, fitfully increasing afterwards, and gradually subsiding till in 1866-7 it reached 76, which is much nearer its former or ordinary state. For in one year only (1855–6) between the periods named did it reach 77, generally keeping under 70, and once falling to 56.

What then can have been the cause of this sudden access of prosperity which flashed over the Colleges in 1860–1, and which, by its transitory brightness, has left men discontented with what formerly satisfied them? We fail to trace any direct connection with the great Charter question here. The public, however, need be at no loss for a satisfactory reason, which will furnish means for solving more problems than one in connection with these returns of the three presidents.

At the period named certain assaults on the Colleges had made the public more fully aware than it had been of the rich prizes which they offered to students; and when it was denounced that sometimes there were more prizes than pupils, and that scholarships which would, it was said, be given even to incompetent lads, went begging for lack of anybody to ask for them, a number of enquirers naturally resolved to present

themselves at once. Add to this that, on account of denunciations of failure, founded on a paucity of regular students, the College professors who superintend the matriculation examinations relaxed their rigour. They passed all they could, naturally wishing to furnish material for rebutting the case made against the institutions. But a chief part in producing the result must be assigned to the movement set on foot by Sir Robert Peel for providing yet more and richer prizes for Queen's College students. He crowned the agitation he created by an offer of £1,200, at the first public meeting of the University in October, 1861. This sum was to be devoted to founding three exhibitions of £40 each, to be competed for annually for ten year; and it was afterwards increased by a collection amongst the Castle officials, the University officials, and the College officials, and the few friends of those institutions generally. The agitation and the increased stimulus had their effect at the time; but like all things factitious, the excitement died down in a few years, and matters appear to have resumed their usual aspect, in spite of the increase in prizes. In the Report of the President of Cork College we find this waif, which sufficiently indicates a preceding laxity at the matriculation examination. After the examinations for entrance held in October, 1866, sixty new students were entered as Matriculated Students to the First Year's Class, "as were also twenty-five students who had previously matriculated, but who, from not having been promoted, or from other causes

being disqualified from proceeding with the higher studies of a senior class, were therefore required to re-enter the class of the first year, and to resume the more elementary courses."

Probably the other Colleges could tell a similar tale if they liked. But the President of Galway College is too much perplexed with fears of change, and the President of Belfast College is too greatly delighted with the exquisite example of mixed education exhibited there, to attend to such things. "If an illustration were required of the practicability and advantage of united education," says the latter gentleman, "this College incontestably furnishes it: its authorities, its professors, its officers, its students, belong to different churches and creeds."

The "incontestable illustration" resolves itself into this:—There is no Catholic amongst the office-bearers (two of whom are Protestant Clergymen), and only one on the roll of professors; and as for the "authorities" the President, a Protestant clergyman, sits in council with seven Protestant councillors round him!

Not the least important lesson derivable from these Reports is to be found in the fact that they unconsciously reveal the existence of a body of student material which, except under very extraordinary circumstances, lies beyond the reach of the Queen's Colleges.

MEDICAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

THE act of the Queen's University in conferring the degree of the Doctor of Medicine on a simple Bachelor of Arts, unversed in the science, is well fitted to direct attention to the subject of medical education. The history of the grant is a curious illustration of the interior workings of two Universities which claim to control the education of Ireland. The Bachelor of Arts in question was a graduate of the University of Dublin ; and, by a natural transition, he passed into the Queen's University as a Professor. It happened, however, that the chair of Botany in the former institution became vacant, and he wished to become a candidate for it. Now, to teach Botany in what has been called the " National University," there are two qualifications indispensably necessary. In the first place, the professor must be a Protestant; in the second place, he must be a Doctor of Medicine. Neither of these conditions, one would imagine, could go far to make a man a perfect botanist. It seems otherwise, however, to the Dublin University, whose

liberality is so frequently a theme of declamation on the part of its advocates. Fortunately the aspirant, in this instance, only lacked the second qualification, the degree in medicine; for none of the professors of Natural Science in the Queen's University is other than a Protestant. To obtain a degree *causâ honoris*, it would be natural that the person desirous of it should apply to the University in which he was educated, where he graduated, and on which his celebrity (if any) reflected honor. More especially would this be the case when it was known that he only sought the degree in order to overcome a technical obstacle, and bring his distinction with him to the University as a member of its teaching body. Nothing of the kind, however, appears to have been thought of in the present instance; but rather the reverse of it has taken place. Another University, which had secured the services of the gentleman concerned, gives him a degree *causâ honoris*, in order to enable him to leave it, and to betake himself and his distinction to the institution in which he was educated, and which has not thought proper to move in the matter. The whole proceeding reminds one of the loyalty which, wishing to commemorate the visit of George IV. to Ireland, erected a monument on the spot from which he left the country. The result has been to place the Queen's University Senate in an awkward position. For the Chair in the University of Dublin was obtained by a Scottish botanist, and the Senate has now on its hands its professor, its degree, and its indignant medical graduates.

In the Senate which conferred the degree in question were three members of the medical profession; Sir Robert Kane, President of the Queen's College, from which the candidate wished to pass; Dr. Robert Adams, University Professor of Surgery in connection with the institution to which he wished to go; and Sir Dominic Corrigan, representative of the Queen's University in the general medical council of the United Kingdoms. We do not know how these gentlemen acted on the occasion; it may be that they did not yield without a struggle—that their desire to maintain a high professional standard, only gave way before the superior number of those whose zeal for keeping up a high standard of University degrees has been better expressed than understood. Sir D. Corrigan, consistently or not, took an early opportunity of expressing his dissatisfaction with existing arrangements so far as they affect medical education. In delivering the address on medicine before the British Medical Association, at its annual meeting held in Dublin last August, he drew to light some grave evils which tend to depress the standard of professional acquirement. Nine years have elapsed since the Medical Act came into existence, and he appears to have had the conviction forced upon him that the standard has been lowered rather than raised since then. For a century or two previous the Dublin University, the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and the Apothecaries' Hall in Ireland had all

required from the candidate for their degree, diploma, or license, a preliminary knowledge of Greek. One of the first deeds of the Medical Council established by the Medical Act was to declare a knowledge of Greek unnecessary. Sir Dominic Corrigan states that as a compromise, after a long contest, he obtained that after 1869 it should be once more required. The same Council in the present year struck off the Science of Botany from the list of subjects for examination; and it is to be presumed they take no cognizance of Zoology. Moreover, the preliminary education of intending students is little cared for. Eighteen bodies, scattered over the United Kingdoms, Canada, and Tasmania, are empowered to examine, in Arts and Science, candidates who wish to enter on the study of medicine. The several licensing bodies have no means of knowing how these preliminary examinations are conducted; and they are consequently ignorant of the general attainments of those on whom they confer degrees or licenses They do not always know in what subjects the candidate is examined, in however perfunctory a manner. Some time, for instance, had elapsed before it was discovered that certain bodies whose certificates were recognized did not make even Latin a necessary part of the examination. The consequence of such a system is that when tested by the independent examinations for the army and navy, a per centage of the candidates, "duly licensed practitioners" though they be, fail utterly in the preliminary examination, and are sometimes

found unable to write even a prescription. These incapables are discovered only because they have to present themselves for another examination after that which gives them their license or diploma; but there are of course numbers who have no intention of entering the army or navy. Dispersed throughout the country in various capacities, the defects of their general education may not disqualify them from practice, but they are certain to degrade the profession in public estimation.

If the tests for preliminary education are so seriously defective, it can hardly be hoped that the system of professional education is free from grave defects. As a matter of fact, it is painfully wanting. According to the same authority, there are in the United Kingdoms nineteen licensing bodies, conferring no fewer than thirty separate licences and fifty-three titles; and, as a consequence, we have a downward tendency of professional education. The opposition which is the soul of trade is sometimes the ruin of traders; here the hurt falls upon the purchasers, who are enticed from shop to shop by the promise of getting the article they require with the least amount of trouble and expense. Good students may present themselves for examination before strict examining bodies; but the indolent or incapable student will seek, and readily find, a licence to practice on easier terms. For this reason certain Scottish examinations used to be frequented by migrants after they had perhaps failed elsewhere. "The sad state of ignorance engen-

dered by the downward competition," says Sir Dominic Corrigan, " has obliged the army and naval authorities to examine for themselves; for they cannot place reliance on the diplomas of our numerous licensing bodies, and could not, on the faith of the diplomas issued by them, entrust to their holders the lives of our soldiers and sailors. It appears to me that if our system be not altered, the civil authorities must ignore all our licensing bodies, and, like the army and naval authorities, institute an examination for themselves. I should deeply regret to see this, but to this I fear it must come, unless we bestir ourselves."

What chance there is of the Council, which assumes to guard the interests of the profession, bestirring itself in the matter may be gathered from its composition and acts. Its members are twenty-four, and these are either representatives of the licensing bodies or closely connected with them. We have seen how they are stated to have lowered the standard of the preliminary examination, and how they have removed Botany from amongst the subjects for examination. Their schemes for preserving the integrity of their own standard have been marked by a kindred want of vigour. First, they issued a set of " recommendations," which were followed or disregarded at will; and, as a consequence, there were criminations and recriminations in the Council, on the part of the representatives. Then they adopted the plan of " visitation of examinations," the preliminary as well as

the professional. Considering that the former may be held at varying times and at places very far asunder, an effective visitation is hardly possible; whilst visitation of professional examination by members of the Medical Council would be a mockery. Each member is interested for his own licensing body; and an interchange of visitations would only, as has been remarked, be an interchange of courtesies. In the amended Bill which has been drawn up, an additional step is suggested which may perhaps to some persons appear a sign of progress. The Medical Council desires to be empowered to register, without any examination, the holders of foreign diplomas, on satisfactory evidence being laid before it that a suitable curriculum has been pursued and an appropriate examination passed. For this it would have, generally speaking, to take the word of the foreign licensing bodies; and it has not succeeded so well with its home corporations as to induce disinterested people to enlarge its powers in this direction. Sir Dominic Corrigan has come into possession of proofs that at least four German Universities grant degrees *in absentiâ*, for cash down; but these Universities do not give the holders of such degrees licence to practice in the territories in which they themselves are situated. They, at all events, take care of their own people. Certain German Universities give what would at first sight seem to be an honest degree, since it is to be granted only after the candidate has passed a *viva voce* examination, but in fact is only a more specious

delusion than the other. An applicant, residing in this country, found that in order to obtain it there was no need to present himself at the University. He was referred to one of its graduates living here, and informed that on passing his examination and paying £32 he would obtain the degree. There would be a considerable increase in this sort of traffic if the Bill of the Medical Council were to become law. It is to be noted also that America is not much behind Germany with respect to the grant of venal degrees. A doctor of medicine of one of our own Universities, who acts as an agent for facilitating the purchase of degrees, writes thus in reply to an application: "After having had the pleasure of your note of the 6th inst." (July, 1867), "I write you in direct course. I stated in terms of my said letter that no university but that of the State of Pennsylvania gave degrees of Medical Doctor *in absentiâ*, the cost being £32 12s., in full of all demands, and delivered free. I also stated in terms of my said note, that the University of Giessen, of Hesse Darmstadt, gave degrees of M.D. for £22 paid there, and £15 10s. sterling paid here, and also in full of all demands. In either case I will cheerfully assist you or your friend in attaining the object in view. As I have four new degrees to get at Pennsylvania next week, and other four at Giessen also, please send me £32 12s. for the Pennsylvania degree, or £15 10s. in part of the Giessen degree," &c. This letter was read before the Medical Association; and it was further certified that an agent of an American

college in London was prepared with a variety of blank diplomas duly signed and sealed, which he was ready to dispose of for £20 each, with a discount off. They had one distinctive advantage, besides their lower price, over those already mentioned; they were antedated! Some were nine, some ten, and some fifteen years old on the face of them; and thus they would give their possessors the benefit of appearing to be experienced practitioners.

Whatever sympathy may have attended Sir Dominic Corrigan when he was denouncing these foreign practices, he did not carry all his hearers with him when he spoke of home imperfections. He was thought too severe. Nevertheless he had not unveiled all, nor the worst of the abuses that exist, even in the city in which he lives. There are proprietorial or joint-stock medical schools, just as there are joint-stock companies of other descriptions; and some of these sell their certificates as unblushingly as the foreign Universities in question sell their degrees. There have been cases in which strict schools and honorable professors have refused to grant a student who did not attend a certificate of having attended regularly; and nevertheless the student has been able to present himself for examination before a licensing body with all his certificates in due order. How has he been able to do this? He has simply stepped over to another school, where he had previously attended no lecture, and has there paid his money and obtained his certifi-

cate of regular attendance on lectures, duly signed and antedated. There have even been cases in which the student never attended a lecture in the city, never perhaps visited it, and yet has been able to obtain what certificates he required on simply remitting his money. Of course, the existence of only one such school in a city would be enough to make the others more lax; for if they were to require exact attendance, their classes might desert. This is a serious state of things to be permitted to exist in connection with an honorable profession, and on the part of teachers of youth. What idea of honour, or even of common honesty, can students be expected to retain when they see such a system flourishing before them, and regarded as a matter of course? Sir Dominic Corrigan hopes to effect the reforms he desires by a change in the Medical Council so as to make it a representative of the profession at large, as well as of the licensing bodies. He would empower it, subject to the approbation of the Secretary of State, to lay down a code of regulations, both as to preliminary and professional examinations, and order that all graduates and holders of licences and degrees from the several corporate bodies should be subject to examination before being permitted to hold any public appointment supported wholly or in part by public grant. He would exempt graduates in arts from the preliminary examination, but would not give the Central Council power to enact any code of education. The several licensing

bodies would have full power to suit education to the circumstances of each division of the kingdom.

This is very fair to the licensing bodies; but is it fair to the student? A young man spends three or four of the best years of his life under a vicious system; he has to pay, perhaps, more money than he can well afford; and, as the end of all, he becomes the possessor of a worthless degree. He finds himself excluded from all public appointments; he must lose more time and more money; and, after having been mulcted for one degree, he must submit to be mulcted for another. As there is no curriculum laid down, nor even recommended, the student has nothing to guide him in his studies, and may be discovered perhaps attending lectures on surgery or medicine before he knows anatomy, or attending discourses on Materia Medica before he has the slightest comprehension of Chemistry and Botany. This absence of system makes him regard the sciences as unintelligible, and throws him completely into the hands of tutors by whom he is taught to get by rote what disconnected information he can. Useful additions to a systematic course, these assistants thus become an abuse; but if they are proprietorially connected with the school or licensing body, it is natural to suppose that they will not sacrifice their own interests to those of the student. It is for the State, however, to take care that the standard of medical education is kept up, and to see that its sanction is not given to anything which savours of

obtaining money under false pretences. Venal certificates and worthless degrees are of this nature; and the fact of their existence demands an enquiry into the condition of medical education not in Ireland merely, but in the whole of the United Kingdoms.

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE FOR IRELAND.

THE Museum of Irish Industry, long a favourite resort of the studious in the Irish capital, exists no longer. Externally the building remains the same; internally, to judge by the plans, everything is changed. The halls where the public used to go after lecture to observe and learn, have been cut up into lecture-rooms, where they must consent to be taught in due and legal form. It remains to be seen how far the Irish public will approve the changes; at present all they can know of them is that a couple of Irish professors appointed *pro tempore* have been displaced to make room for two gentlemen from North Britain. News of Irish official business, however, is best known in London; and the rule holds good even when an Irish College of Science is in question. It will be useful to give the Irish public some idea of proceedings which closely concern them, and about which they are kept still in a state of ignorance.

The establishment of the Museum of Irish Industry

was in some small degree an act of emancipation in science for the Catholics, as the Relief Act had been in politics. Before it took place Trinity College and the Royal Dublin Society monopolized scientific instruction, and allowed no science to pass which was not stamped with the test-oath. The exclusive character of the former institution is well known; that of the latter may be judged from the fact that, when "toleration" was most fashionable in Dublin, it blackballed the late Archbishop Murray, one of the mildest and gentlest of men, solely because he belonged to the Church of the nation. Naturally both institutions regarded the new establishment with dislike, not to say enmity. They fancied it had some elements of popularity; its director had written on "the Industrial Resources of Ireland," and was a Catholic. Clearly there was reason to distrust this Papal aggression on the field of Science. For with the emancipation of the popular intellect many new competitors must arise; and the former monopolists would no longer be allowed to divert from a nation's benefit the Pactolus of science which irrigated so profitably their privileged domains. The director of the Museum, however, was not the dangerous antagonist they feared; and the institution, although it put them on their mettle, was cramped in its swaddling clothes, and impeded in its development. Nevertheless, they regarded it askance. Its existence made them uneasy; and they schemed to neutralize or destroy it. One plan was to annex it to the Dublin Society, whose

especial fitness for popular esteem was shown in the last exploit that brought it prominently before Parliament and the public, namely, the resistance it opposed to the free opening of the Botanic Garden on Sundays. Linked to so Conservative a body, and brought under the control of a strictly Protestant directory of the Irish type, it was reasonably presumed that the efficiency of the Museum as a popular instructor would disappear. If this design could have been carried out as quietly as it was planned, and in part executed, the expectations of its promoters would no doubt have been justified. But when a Commission had been obtained in furtherance of the project, and when all was going on as surely and safely as posssible, the public took alarm and energetically protested against the scheme. The ambition of the reactionists having overleaped itself, they had the misfortune to see the plot result in a reorganization of the Museum of Irish Industry, now the Royal College of Science. They have, however, successfully exerted themselves to make it "safe" in the matter of appointments.

The organization of the new institution occupied the attention of the late Government, to whom is due all that is creditable in it. Under their auspices the plans were drawn out, and, although there was not sufficient elasticity in the formal provisions, it might have been secured in the practical working. But with the change of Government the chances of making the institution progressive and popular fell to zero. The Director of the Museum of Irish Industry, Sir

Robert Kane, was a Catholic. It is not a desirable thing that scientific appointments should be mixed up with the question of religion; but in Ireland, unfortunately, this has long been the rule. Until recently every such appointment was sedulously given to members of the small, well-endowed Protestant minority; and it was but natural that the people at large should be of one mind with impartial statesmen as to the propriety of rectifying a rule so unjust and so invidious. Greek gifts have made the Irish people distrustful of the intentions of Governments; and if their confidence in educational matters was to be recovered, it was necessary to show plainly that there was no design to proselytize or act partially. Hence, if it had been really discovered that the Catholic Director of the Industrial Museum was unfit to be appointed to a similar position in the College of Science, a Government desirous of dealing fairly with the people would have appointed a Catholic successor, if a fit one was to be found. A different course has been followed. Sir Robert Kane, to some extent the originator, and always the Director, of the Museum, was ungraciously relieved of all duties in connection with it, and then it was that the absurd allegation was officially made that the post of Director of a scientific institution was one for which a scientific man was specially *un*fit. What rendered him unsuited, it was urged, was that he probably knew one science better than the rest. Hence, ran the argument, the person best adapted to govern a College of Science is

one who knows nothing of any science! At the same time, in direct contradiction to this theory, it was contemplated to vest power in a changeable head guilty of a knowledge of science; for one proposal was that each professor in the College should rule for a year as Dean, in rotation.

The consequence of this arrangement would have been that Sir Robert Kane having been evicted, and only one professor being a Catholic, the establishment would for nine years rank with Trinity College and the Dublin Society in having a Protestant head, whilst only every tenth year a Catholic would occupy the post. However, on remonstrance being made, it was thought best to reconsider the matter as far as Sir Robert Kane was concerned. He was deposed from his Directorship, but allowed to remain as permanent Dean at the salary of a low-classed clerk; and another gentleman was sought out to fill the position of Secretary to the College, which is virtually the Directorship under another name. On the theory of special fitness which has been already stated, we are bound to presume that the Secretary to the College of Science was chosen from the ranks of those who are ignorant of science. A nominee appears to have been discovered in the person of Mr. Sidney; and if his knowledge of science is as slight as the acquaintance which science, on this side of the channel, has with his name, it may certainly be concluded that he is a fit man. He is moreover an official lawyer; and he possesses also the qualification of being a Protestant.

The question of Irish education is how the State can make the path of knowledge easy and inviting to those who, though they constitute the great bulk of the population, have not a single recognized institution similar to Trinity College. It is quite clear that they cannot be induced to go to any establishment where they observe symptoms of a desire to exclude their learned co-religionists from positions of trust, or from professorial chairs. If the late Government had remained in power long enough to fill up the appointments, there is no doubt that these considerations would have had their due weight. As it is, however, all the arrangements are of the ante-Emancipation type. Of the seven persons connected with the Industrial Museum as Director and Professors, two were Catholics. In the Royal College of Science, one of these two has been reduced in grade, and not one of the new appointments has been given to a Catholic. Of the four chairs recently filled, a Catholic has been nominated to none; and the same rule will doubtless hold good with regard to those yet to be filled.* The consequence is that the institution, the chief reason for whose origin and existence has been that it differed

* Shortly after this article appeared, one Catholic obtained a chair. But this is nothing as a counterpoise, and the College has been, perhaps irretrievably, damaged. Two years ago 245 registered students attended scientific lectures in the building; this session, after all the flourish of trumpets, the number has shrunk to a miserable dozen. This dozen eight professors had to divide amongst them; and the attendance in consequence on the lectures ranged from zero in Zoology to four—the highest in any class. And some of these

from existing Dublin establishments in being unsectarian, begins to take a specially Protestant complexion. If Sir Robert Kane were removed from the merely nominal position he now holds, and the vacant chairs were filled up on the principle followed hitherto, instead of having but two Catholics in seven, as in the Museum, there would only be one in eleven in the Royal College of Science. It can scarcely be urged that fit Catholics are not now to be found to supply a proportion equal to that given when the Museum was founded. If such a plea were alleged, it would amount to a confession that the efforts of existing institutions to educate Catholics are a failure—an invincible argument in the hands of those who demand that the Catholic University should have means for granting its students legal degrees.

The Royal College of Science for Ireland has an imposing name, but in reality it is to be in abject dependence on South Kensington. Why this should be, or being should continue, is inscrutable. Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges, Maynooth, the Royal Dublin Society, all manage their own affairs, and why not the Royal College of Science? This system of

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were in fact, paid to be present, being recipients of prizes entailing the necessity of attendance on lectures. The South Kensington authorities and the Conservatives have done their work thoroughly. Like the termites or white ants of Africa when attacking a piece of solid furniture, they have wrought silently and hiddenly, and persevered, leaving the exterior untouched, until nothing remains but a varnished shell filled with dust and ruin.

centralization creates discontent and disaffection, and works altogether badly. A short time ago the Lord Mayor of Dublin and others went to the Chief Secretary for Ireland as a deputation from the citizens on the purchase of the Exhibition building for an Irish Museum, and fervently denounced South Kensington and its centralizing tendencies. Nothing can be worse than the working of its system on Ireland, where it acts as a positive discouragement to science. There were, for instance, certain Royal Scholarships and Exhibitions attached to the Irish Museum, as now to the College of Science. To qualify for one of them the Irish student must first hunt up "a certificated teacher;" and to obtain a certificate the poor teacher must travel all the way, say, from Cork or Connemara to South Kensington. This of course would of itself effectually obstruct any progress worth speaking of; and it displays quite a gratuitous perversity, for why require a certificate at all, unless, indeed, for obstructive purposes? Suppose the student, however, has found a certificated teacher in one town, it may turn out that his teacher is unable to instruct him well in certain desirable branches, and thereupon commences a hunt for another certificated teacher. The student cannot avail himself of the aid even of a University Professor, however eminent, unless the Professor seeks a certificate from South Kensington. He must leave efficient and conveniently placed teachers behind him —for no prosperous and capable teacher would think of coming over to London for such a certificate—and

must go from town to town, and perhaps come at last to South Kensington, on borrowed funds. Then again all the examination papers go from South Kensington to all the certificated teachers, if they have got up a class and committee; then they come back again to South Kensington in sealed envelopes; and then once more from South Kensington the award is sent out. The consequence of this cumbrous centralization is that out of the six persons who obtained the valuable prizes attached to the late Irish Museum, only two were Irish. Naturally the plan has created great discontent amongst the Irish youth desirous of competing for prizes of such value; they see stumbling-blocks, the most irritating and useless, put to meet them at every onward step, till the miracle is that any of them persevere in such a steeple-chase.

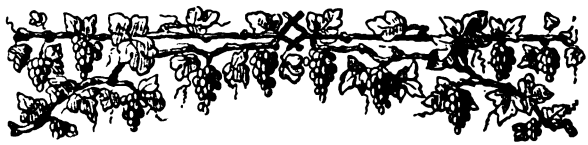
An Irish Department of Science should be formed and completed so as to make it a real centre for scientific education in Ireland; it should be made competent to examine for all the prizes attached to it; and the preposterous scheme of rejecting all knowledge unless from the bearers of South Kensington certificates should at once be abolished.

The scheme of instruction adopted for the College of Science is extensive. The course will spread over three years. In the first two the instruction will be general; in the third it will be specialized under the heads of Mining, Agriculture, Engineering, and Manufactures. During the first year the student will be taught Applied Mathematics, Physics, Descriptive

Geometry, and Botany. During the second year he will be taught Applied Mathematics, Chemistry, Laboratory Practice, Zoology, Mechanical Drawing. It will be observed that the shrewd men of South Kensington have directed the new Professor of Botany to teach that science by omitting a most important and practical portion of it; for how is it possible to obtain a correct idea of physiological botany without a previous knowledge of chemistry? To profess to teach botany before chemistry is much the same as to profess to teach applied mathematics before the pupil knows his multiplication table. With respect to the teaching of mathematics in the new College we have a remarkable phenomenon. There is but one Professor, Mr. Ball; but he and South Kensington have agreed on the following number and course of lectures:—

75 in Elementary Mathematics.
75 „ Mechanics and Hydrostatics.
75 „ Higher Mathematics.
75 „ Mathematical Physics.
75 „ Theory of Structure, Mechanism and Machines.
75 „ Steam and the Prime Movers.

He is to begin in November: when will he end? In the whole year, including Sundays and holidays, there are 365 days; and this Professor is to give his pupils 450 lectures! This is surely the first instance of steam-pressure applied to lecturing: of no man doing this can it be said "he lives;" only, "he lectures."



THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE IRISH PROTESTANTS.

To judge from the press of the country no question more seriously occupies the public mind in Ireland, at the present time, than that of the disendowment of the Church Establishment. Journals in the popular interest incessantly assail it; and one of them even issued "a commission" to report upon the condition of the several dioceses. The instalments of the Report periodically appearing thoroughly familiarized the public with its anomalies. On the other hand, the friends of the Establishment have been bestirring themselves, and apparently considering the danger imminent, have attempted a double defence. They have sought to combine the two principal denominations of unestablished Protestants in a demonstration in favor of the endowment, and to inflame the Orange Society of Ulster, so that they may use its passions as a means of intimidating the Government.

The demonstration at Hillsborough, in October, first

showed how far they had succeeded in both objects. They have moved the Orange Society and the Irish Tory members, because the latter are personally interested in maintaining the Establishment, and because the former is in reality an electioneering society—a sort of Tory Trades' Union But with regard to the rest they have receded rather than advanced. Their great demonstration has proved a great blunder. Previous to it Englishmen might conceivably have believed that Protestants of all denominations in Ireland were favorable to the maintenance of the Establishment; but the opinions elicited from the Dissenting bodies at the prospect of the Hillsborough demonstration have been fatal to such an argument, especially after the pathetic appeal which was made to them in the address convoking the meeting.

This address was for some time flown over the country like a kite, with a tail of noble names appended to it. Its authors went aside to pay unskilful compliments to the Presbyterians and Methodists, condescending much, in order that they might be able to proclaim that the Hillsborough meeting was a demonstration of " the Protestants of Ireland." They have had their humiliation for their pains. The Dissenters were not caught by their suddenly declared friendship and admiration, and did not throw their weight as religious congregations into the scale with the Establishment.

The Methodists and Presbyterians are by far the largest of the several dissenting bodies in Ireland.

The Census Commissioners reckon 45,399 Methodists, only 9 per cent. of whom, at the age of 5 years and beyond it, could neither read nor write; of Presbyterians there are 523,291; taken at the same ages, 11·1 of these were found unable to read or write. The total number members of the Established Church is 693,357, of whom 16 per cent., at the same ages, could neither read nor write.

The proportion of ignorance here is least among the Protestant Voluntaries, it appears to increase in direct ratio with the increased amount of endowments given to the other two bodies; and it is not unnatural that under such circumstances the Methodists should fail to see the advantage of maintaining a wealthy Establishment. Several letters have appeared from them, stating distinctly that "the Methodists as a body take no interest in the proposed demonstration," and in the *Northern Whig* of Belfast a correspondent declared that "no Wesleyan minister could be induced to sign the requisition calling the meeting." Besides this, there is a communication from a minister, quoting an extract from the address of the Methodist Conference, which he considers appropriate to the occasion. "We solemnly warn you, dear brethren," it says, "meddle not with political discussions or meetings; they have a direct tendency to injure the mind by leading to the forming of connections and associations that are unfavourable to piety." The minister does not believe that it was needful for the Methodists to appear at Hillsborough to attest

either their "Protestantism" or their "loyalty;" their going, he said, would not tend to advance the principles of the Reformation, or to strengthen the hands of the Government in an impartial administration of the law. Another Methodist correspondent in a Dublin paper declares that "if for no other reason than for her own prosperity and advancement in spiritual life I hope to see the day when the Established Church will cease to receive State aid." He wishes the country to understand that the scant attendance of Wesleyans at such a demonstration is due to the fact of their declining to be led, by an irrelevant compliment in an advertisement, to participate in a political movement which is at variance with their own system of Church government, and "rather inimical than favourable to the interests of true Christianity."

Whilst rebuffs of this kind have been administered to the party of the Establishment by the Methodists, the reception given them by influential Presbyterians has not been encouraging. It was otherwise thirty-three years ago. Then as now the Church Establishment was threatened, and a commission appointed to take its case into consideration and report upon it. To sustain its cause an agitation was begun similar to the one now attempted, and a monster meeting was held at Hillsborough, of which that of last October was an imitation. Then, however, the Corporation of Dublin petitioned for the maintenance of the existing state of things; and the Lord Mayor presided

at a mass meeting held in Dublin to express views to that effect. Now the majority of the Corporation would petition in an opposite sense ; and a Lord Mayor lately presided over a Reform meeting where the Establishment, as such, was vigorously denounced. Then Mr. Cooke, speaking for the Presbyterian body, assured the Hillsborough meeting of its cordial co-operation with the Church Establishment. He even proceeded to solemnize a marriage between the Presbyterian Church and the Church Establishment. "Who forbids the banns?" he cried. "None, I presume." No Presbyterian came forward to express dissent; and Mr. Cooke then sealed the union by declaring, "What God has joined let no man put asunder."

The preliminary attempt to publish banns for a new marriage—for it seems that the former one was not long held binding—has, however, been forbidden early. As soon as it was hinted at, the Presbyterian organs began to denounce it. They reminded their brethren of the Establishment that six years had scarcely elapsed from the period of the so-called marriage, when their favoured friends raised a point which made many Presbyterian marriages void, and many Presbyterians themselves illegitimate. This was the well-known Presbyterian marriage question, first raised in the Consistorial Court of Armagh, and decided in the Irish Court of Queen's Bench, the appeal to the House of Lords having resulted in a tie. The question turned on the validity of the ceremony

when performed by a Presbyterian minister in certain cases, and the judgment declared it invalid. The Presbyterians, they said, had been made tools of, and then flung aside when they were no longer needed.

"The Irish Prelatical party," observes an Ulster Presbyterian journal, published in Londonderry, "exerted all their influence in order to prevent Presbyterians from obtaining an Act of Parliament to undo the unparalleled mischief which had been wrought—a proceeding indicating an amount of sectarian bitterness which charity would have been slow even to suspect beforehand." A recent Charge of the present Primate, it seems, characterized other Protestant denominations as "numberless sects—at once the weakness and disgrace of the Reformation." Commenting on this, the same paper speaks of the hardihood of summoning Presbyterians, Methodists, and other Protestant Dissenters to Hillsborough in order to preserve, maintain, and perpetuate in the country the ascendancy and State emoluments of a spiritual oligarchy which dooms them to the condition of outcasts from the commonwealth of Israel. The Belfast journal opens its columns to similar plain speaking. One of its correspondents, for instance, a "true blue Presbyterian," says he must be excused from attending the Hillsborough meeting, and gives his reasons in a systematic impeachment of the Church Establishment. Another warns the Established Clergy that they would serve God and their country better by minding their parochial church duties, and by

"devoting the time spent in Orange Lodges, getting up agitations, and gadding about the streets, in house-to-house visiting—to attending more to the poor, sick, and afflicted, and less to politics." More remarkable perhaps is the correspondence which is published as having passed between Mr. Rutherford, a Presbyterian minister, dating from Banbridge, and the Secretaries of the Hillsborough meeting. He invited the conveners of the meeting to appoint one or more of their number to meet him in a public discussion on the propriety of continuing the endowment of the Established Church. A Secretary replied, somewhat evasively, that no one would be allowed to speak without permission from the chairman; and in commenting on the reply, Mr. Rutherford says: "Is it then to be endured by any civilized community that a nation of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians shall be compelled, at the point of the bayonet, to pay such enormous emoluments for the support of the religion of a sect so numerically contemptible. . . . . I would rejoice in the total disendowment of all parties in Ireland; and rather than the Royal Bounty (*Regium Donum*) should stand in the way of the removal of the huge injustice and wrong of the Establishment, and of the pacification, progress, and prosperity of this land—rather than my native country should be a bye-word and hissing among the nations for its misgovernment, oppression, and wretchedness—and I speak in the name of all the thoughtful, earnest, and intelligent members of the assembly, lay and clerical—we like

Moses of old with the golden calf 'would burn it in the fire, and grind it to powder, and strew it on the waters.'"

From indications like these it is evident that no demonstration in favour of the maintenance of the Church Establishment can be taken as expressing the views of "the Protestants of Ireland." The Dissenters, who in number approach the members of the Established Church, do not as a body support its claims. A few perhaps may incline in its favour; but it has been shown that many influential voices amongst them oppose it strenuously; and—what is even more significant—that the Establishment has been losing support and converting adherents into enemies. That it should have thrown itself into the arms of the Orange Society may perhaps be excused on the plea that it only follows a natural instinct.

Its identification with Orangeism, however, disposes at once of various arguments based on its assumed acceptance by the nation at large. No one can say that Orangeism is popular with the Irish people; and the Church Establishment, which has chosen to cast its lot with Orangeism, would clearly have destroyed its popularity with the nation, if popularity it had ever had. This, however, was never anything but a pleasant fiction; and the expression of the sentiments of Protestant Dissenters in Ulster has sufficed to scatter the last shreds of it to the winds.

THE ISOLATION OF THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

THE Irish Church Establishment had three supports in public opinion in England, which caused a certain reluctance to deal summarily with it. It was believed that the Irish Dissenters were united with its own members in regarding it as a blessing; that the Protestant Liberals as well as the Conservatives recognized it as an advantage; and that the Catholic laity were not really opposed to its existence. One by one its partizans have removed these props, and, with a pertinacity of purpose, as marked as if it had been actually designed, have brought it to a state of complete isolation.

The special work of the Dublin demonstration of February has been to show that the small agitation in favour of the Church Establishment is simply and exclusively a Tory manœuvre. Even before the meeting in the Rotundo the list of names published in connection with it had almost effected this, and had shown the public what they had to expect. The

failure to accomplish the object professedly aimed at, and the success in attaining the special end for which the demonstration seems to have been unconsciously convoked, may be judged by the following extract. It is from a letter which appeared in the Dublin *Evening Mail*, an organ of the Establishment party, on the 31st of January. The writer wishes to enquire "whether the Union of Protestants to be developed on the 5th proximo in Dublin should be called 'a General Union of Protestants' or of Protestants of one party—the Tory or Conservative side?" "For it cannot be denied," he adds, "that, in the great and noble list published, we cannot but miss many—I should think all—the Protestants of the other party, who most undoubtedly feel the strongest attachment to the Protestant religion and general interests of their country. For instance, 'Ireland's only Duke,' must we not miss his name as well as the many other noble Lords and Commons of the Whig Party." The writer is, no doubt, correct in believing that those Protestant gentlemen who have declined to join his friends "feel the strongest attachment to the Protestant religion and general interests of their country." They may be excused if they take a higher and more intelligible way of showing their attachment to both than the partizans of Endowed Toryism. Probably they believe that their religion will survive even in a purified atmosphere, and will be not less like a revelation of divine truth when it has been freed from the reproach of extorting its revenue from the pockets of

the dissentient poor. They may also think it a service to their country to aid in delivering her from the dominion of this fertile mother of religious discords, whilst at the same time they free themselves from the charge of asking the alms of Catholics to support the Church of their own belief. But, whatever be their reasons, one thing remains certain: the Liberal Protestant gentry of Ireland hold aloof from these defenders of the Establishment.

It has already been made manifest that the Catholic gentry are unwilling any longer to tolerate that misrepresentation of their views and feelings which has declared them to be not only undesirous of the abolition of the Church Establishment, but even anxious to retain it. It was the special work of the Hillsborough demonstration to lay bare the real state of the case by provoking the declaration of the lay Catholics of Ireland which has been so influentially signed. It is true that in the tedious and rather ill-tempered "Address" afterwards published by "the Central Protestant Defence Association," an attempt is made to persuade the public that this Tory Committee is authorized to speak for the Catholic laity: "We utterly disclaim," they say, "any intention to encroach on the civil or religious liberty now so fully enjoyed by our Roman Catholic countrymen; and we know that we speak the sentiments of many of that persuasion when we say that, in defending the Protestant institutions in this country against the unjust attacks by which they are assailed, we are pleading the

cause of the Roman Catholic laity themselves against an ascendancy of the Ultramontane party as odious to many of them as to us." This is fallacious in two ways: the Catholic laity have spoken for themselves in a different key; and the retention of the Establishment naturally gives the Irish priest a more prominent position on the political platform than he would otherwise have. It is possible that the Tory committee do not see these obvious facts, though the very quotations they give from Catholic journals tell against their argument with reference to Catholic opinion. Too much, however, must not be expected from their intellectual capacity. If a writer in one of our daily papers condemned the policy pursued by James I. with respect to Ireland, no sane reader would construe his meaning to be that all Irish Protestants should now be rooted out of the country. Yet in the "Address" to which a number of Irish gentlemen have put their names something exactly like this has occurred. Here is the curious extract: "But even confiscation of lay and ecclesiastical property will not suffice without extinction of Protestantism, for we find a writer in another influential journal describing the settlement of the North" [in the reign of James I.] "as 'the infamous plantation of Ulster,' which means, according to our understanding, that the Protestants of the North ought to be as speedily as possible banished from the land." They pay a poor compliment to their understanding to charge it with such an inference; but probably they

are the best judges of its calibre. Men of station, however, ought not to be so densely ignorant of the fact that in the Ulster plantation a great number, the majority in fact, of the "planted" families were Irish Catholics. People who are reduced to such straits as theirs to show that somebody is going to persecute them need expect little sympathy from the public for their cry of mock agony.

But how do the Irish Dissenters respond to this attempt to work upon their fears and compel them to make common cause for the sake of Protestantism, threatened so urgently? In what manner do the "Protestants of the North" reply to this insidious appeal, in which the condemnation of an act of King James I. is quoted as indicating an intention to extirpate them "as speedily as possible" from Ireland? The effect of this and other like movements must have grievously disappointed those who concocted them. The Irish Dissenters refuse to make common cause with the Establishment. One congregation of Methodists did, it is true, before the meeting, pass a resolution in its favour, and the act was paraded with considerable joy as an indication of independent Protestant thought. The fuss made over it was significant enough, but even this tiny cup of consolation was dashed from the lips that were opened for it. Wesleyan Methodists exposed the worthlessness of the resolution by showing that it emanated from a congregation of "Primitive" Methodists, who claim to be members of the Church of England, who receive

its ministrations, and who refuse to be considered Dissenters. As to the Protestants of the North, they have expressed their opinion in unmistakeable terms. The Hillsborough demonstration evoked the spirit of Presbyterianism in a very unexpected way. The Scottish infusion in Ulster has its own ideas; and this element suffered at the hands of "Prelacy" in Ireland, treatment similar to that accorded to its brethren in Scotland. When this is recalled to memory, it naturally kindles wrath against the "Prelatic Establishment." It was bad policy in the supporters of the Establishment to disturb the Presbyterians. Their silence could be misrepresented; but their voice must be heard to the confusion of those who appealed to them. Belfast and Londonderry are the respective centres of North-East and North-West Ulster; in the one the *Northern Whig*, and in the other the *Standard*, represents the Presbyterians of the Northern province. How do these papers view the Establishment Question and the appeals made to the Protestants of the North? In one of its leading articles the latter journal makes the emphatic declaration—"The Irish Presbyterian Church can form no alliance, direct or indirect, with Anglican Prelacy for the support of the latter in any shape, even though all the riches of the British Exchequer should be freely held out as the reward of its apostacy." It goes so far as to quote Our Lord's temptation as an appropriate parallel, and says: "The 'kingdoms of the world and the glory of them' were once exhibited as an aggregate temptation

to the abandonment of Divine obligation, and every true Church of Christ must be prepared, in every parallel emergency, to follow the leadership of its Mediatorial Head." The abolition of the *Regium Donum* is contemplated as an ultimate necessity, for which provision must be made in due time, but to avoid which no principle must be sacrificed. In the meantime, "Prelacy and all other unscriptural organizations" are to be left "to fight their own battles, under a rigid system of Presbyterian 'non-intervention.'" The Belfast paper, the *Northern Whig*, declares that "Protestantism will thrive all the stronger in Ireland without the aid of this factitious Establishment." It adds that, taken as a representation of Ulster and of Protestants of all denominations, the Hillsborough meeting was "an ignominious failure," and that the efforts subsequently made to organize local demonstrations have encountered the same fate. The defenders of the Establishment it compares to a company of strolling players, so that two demonstrations in places apart cannot be held on the same day: "They are obliged to go from one place to another," it says, "and take part in the same proceedings in different localities; but such displays are not, and cannot be considered genuine and spontaneous expressions of the opinions of the inhabitants of those districts." It declares that the Protestant Defence Association know their position to be desperate, that the public voice refuses to respond to their appeal, that the sensible part of the Protestant

public are more inclined to laugh at the performance than to sympathize with it, and finally that "it is useless for the defenders of a Church that only exists in glaring defiance of public opinion to appeal to public opinion for its maintenance,"

The defenders of the Establishment have succeeded in completely isolating it. There can no longer be any doubt about its position. It is disliked and denounced not only by the Catholic millions, but also by the majority of the Protestants of Ireland, for the Dissenters and Liberal Protestants are much more numerous than the supporters of the Establishment. It remains simply as an appanage of Toryism, and why should the State be disturbed even for one day to preserve a mere party endowment ?

THE ORANGE SOCIETY.

THE pacific attitude which the Orange Society assumed in 1867 is not less worthy of note than the actions by which it signalized itself in other seasons. This abstinence from acts of violence was due neither to a marked diminution of vitality in the brotherhood, nor to any peculiar absence of stimulating causes. If it were owing to either, its significance would be lost. Instead of having largely decreased in numbers, the Orange Society has held its ground strongly enough, when we take into consideration the great decrease of the population, even in that province in which alone the Society has any strength—the province of Ulster. And so far from allowing its spirit to be mitigated, the leaders and patrons of the association appear to have lost no occasion of which they could avail themselves to keep it in a state of irritation and sullen discontent. Those, therefore, who would desire to know why we had peace in the North of Ireland in 1867 must seek the reason in other causes.

It will be found in the simple recommendation

given by the chiefs and patrons of the Society. This simple recommendation bade the members refrain from processions and open illegal acts, but advised them nevertheless to assemble in their lodges and there celebrate their anniversary by festivals and the display of faction flags. Accordingly this is what was very generally done. The members of the Society assembled in their lodges and held high festival under the shadow of their banners; and if they went forth in procession, they took some care to disguise the nature of it. They kept their flags in reserve, and their fifes and drums silent, in places where they would be too publicly observed. In certain of their strongholds indeed they felt themselves safe and secure enough to dispense with such precautions, and at liberty to erect Orange triumphal arches and display all Orange peculiarities as of old.

This obedience of the Society to its superiors is noteworthy, because of one very pregnant conclusion that must be deduced from it. If these noblemen and gentlemen, its leaders, can restrain it so easily after having fostered its irritation to such an extent, they must be regarded as in a grave degree responsible for the acts of the brotherhood when it does act. They cannot be permitted to shift the burthen of the evil deeds of the Society from themselves and place it on the backs of their humble followers when these are found to yield them such implicit obedience. It is but fair to assume that this is no accident, and that it would have been carefully yielded in other seasons,

had the counsel to preserve the peace been as strongly enjoined.

On examining the causes which may have suggested such a course in the year 1867, we shall not only find the reason for the fact itself, but in that reason we shall discover a clue to the persistent vitality of such an anachronism as this confederation. The advice to keep quiet has been given because the Tories were in power and thought it then their best policy to profess a certain amount of liberality, and any disturbance on the part of the Orangemen would be calculated to give embarrassment to their influential friends. Were parties otherwise placed in Parliament, there is every reason to doubt whether the counsel, even if formally given to save appearances, would have been really and earnestly pressed upon the attention of the subject mass. Did Tory policy deem it best to promote illiberality or to raise the cry of "the Church in danger," the Orangemen could be as easily let loose as they were then curbed.

The Orange Society is now, as a matter of fact, a political body, to be reined up and kept harmless when its friends are in office and desire peace; but when they are out or wish to make liberality odious its leash is slipped, and it is left free to do what guerilla service it may. To do it justice it has always shown itself ready for such emergencies, and rarely allowed an opportunity to escape of embarrassing the hands of the Irish Government when Whigs or Liberals happened to hold the reins of office. From this

point of view it may be regarded as a precursor in the Tory interest of Reform Leagues, but far exceeding any of them in vehemence, and in its choice of weapons preferring those of late adopted by the Trades' Unionists of Sheffield.

It might be asked where is the use of a society with such aims in Ulster; if the Protestants are so numerous there as to make its success possible, they are numerous enough to be able to dispense with it, and return whatever members they please without it? There are, however, three reasons which appear to account for its existence. In the first place, it can always be called into action to create an "agitation," whereby the Legislature may be influenced; for as it is the only organization which gives tongue in the North, its accents can be represented in London as the voice of industrious Ulster. Next it is considered as of service to overawe the Catholic population, and inspire them with a proper sense of their subject position. And by the very act of doing this, the third object is almost achieved. In other words, by raking up the old embers of sectarian dislike, the Presbyterians and members of the Established Church are kept together and prevented from lapsing into Liberalism. The Orangeman who should marry a Catholic wife is cut off from the Society, and the Orangeman who should vote for a Liberal member undergoes exactly the same fate.

It cannot be denied that in its aims the Society has been wonderfully successful. It has kept the province

singularly free from Liberal contamination in its representative men, and this against considerable odds. For, although loose writers occasionally refer to "Protestant Ulster," the fact is that in this province, as in the others, the Catholics are in a majority. However, they are only emerging, strenuously but slowly, from their position as a vanquished and subject race born to be trampled on.

In the struggle for existence and freedom they have had everything against them. The loamy plains and rich valleys were taken from them and given to alien settlers; but they toiled and saved till they fertilized the mountain glens into which they were driven, and even succeeded in buying back some of their old possessions in the more favoured lowlands. They were first kept out of the towns, and even in recent days none would receive their children as apprentices; but they gradually established themselves in the outskirts and suburbs, and steadily worked their way up to wealth and influence. Permission to worship God and to educate themselves was refused them. Nevertheless they offered their illegal devotions in groves and glens, with some peasant sentries posted on the neighbouring heights to give warning of the approach of the officers of the law; and similar sentinels kept watch and ward over the schools, which they held behind a hedge, under the direction of outlawed masters, till now they have their cathedrals and their colleges.

In time they became farmers and manufacturers, and sometimes owners of estates—some of them men

of education and members of the learned professions. But in all their struggle they had the compact ranks of an Orange magistracy to confront; and although there has been some change for the better, the landed magistracy remains essentially as it was, but now leavened by a few stipendiary justices. Whilst the Catholics, therefore, are still to a great extent in the hands of landlords and magistrates of hostile principles, they cannot be expected to risk their ruin in voting for a Liberal member. Besides, their Tory landlords may act in reality as honestly by them as any legal adventurer desirous of place and promotion might promise to do, if returned in the liberal interest; and unfortunately the Irish Liberal constituencies have too frequently learned that Ministries consider it more easy to honour their members than to do justice to their cause. Thus the Catholics have no exceeding reason to vote for Liberals, who have left them at the mercy of ascendancy landlords, except what is given them by the existence of the Orange Society and its actions and influence.

Considering, on the other hand, that Presbyterian Scotland is politically Liberal, it would be natural to expect that in Ulster the Presbyterians would show themselves thoroughly disposed to make a fight, if only they had the power. That however would be to misjudge them. They number in Ulster over half a million and surpass the numbers of the Established Church by more than a hundred thousand; yet a Presbyterian paper complains that they have not returned a

single member of their creed except one who votes against any concessions being made to it. The fact is curious, but is not unaccountable. The Church Establishment is regarded by the Dissenters who grow wealthy as the more respectable and fashionable, and accordingly they frequently desert their own community for it. This tends to make them Conservatives, however Liberal they may have been before; for the adherents of the Established Church in Ireland are obliged to remain, generally speaking, of that political party so long as the Irish Establishment endures as it is. The Orange Society gathers up a democratic remnant, and whenever there is danger of Presbyterians and Catholics leaguing together to return a Whiggish Presbyterian, they raise the Orange Banner, and bringing out fife and drum, stir up the ancient animosities, even to the shedding of blood, so that the new candidate finds himself quickly deserted by a crowd of his own fellow-believers.

This is the present purpose and use of the Orange Society, which was formed about the year 1795 out of a fusion of certain colonial societies called by the significant names of "Wreckers" and "Slashers." It displayed its ideas of vigour in 1798 to the intense disgust of Lord Cornwallis, who found it formidable to everybody but the enemy, and "ferocious and cowardly in the extreme." Parliament directed it to be dissolved, after the enquiry of 1835, when it was discovered to have been engaged in a plot to set upon the throne its Grand Master the Duke of Cumberland,

to the wrong and displacement of the Princess Victoria. It was, however, revived and remodelled in 1845; and, three years after, the Irish Executive became its accomplice by surreptitiously furnishing it with arms for use against the insurgents—a factious act which was calculated to drive many into the insurgent ranks on account of old memories, and to alienate the Catholic soldiery and constabulary. Evidently the Irish executive forgot that the Irish Catholics were in a very different position from what they had been in 1798. Had these Orange allies been given an opportunity for displaying their peculiar ideas of warfare, there would certainly have been no Catholic constabulary to be complimented for their services against insurgents at any time since.

The Orange Society is the product and the prop of a factious ascendancy. In the natural order of things the vitality of each seems to be co-extensive with that of the other. We must then wait for the extinction of the Orange Society until the Irish Establishment has been abolished, and the existence of such an organization should be counted a strong reason for pressing on this great reform. All the year round, until July comes, the different sects and races live on good terms together in Ulster; and there cannot be a doubt that they would have been fused to a great extent long since, if it were not considered necessary to keep them apart for political purposes by promoting these annual exacerbations.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ENDOWED ORANGEISM.

THE Government of Ireland is newspaper-ridden. If this meant that it took note of the public opinion of the nation, and whilst legitimately following out its own principles, shaped its course in the manner least likely to offend the general sentiment, there would be nothing to object to in the fact. But this unfortunately is far from being the case. No doubt the men who hold the reins of government in Ireland desire to act on such a method; but they are weak of will, unsupported, and too amenable to the pressure of the more intolerant of their party. A Government which has taken up a certain position, and publicly announced its adherence to a certain line of action, should not change unless the circumstances have changed. It cannot veer about without loss of dignity; it cannot honourably steer a self-contradictory course; and when it falsifies its professions at the obvious dictation of a faction, it cannot escape without discredit.

No doubt the situation is a delicate one. A Tory

administration has to rule a country under the guidance of Tory principles, whilst the vast majority of the population is anything but Tory. It has to control the destinies of millions in accordance with a set of views which harmonize only with the feelings of a few hundred thousands. Its party adherents are not merely in a minority in the nation at large; they are in a minority in that one of the four provinces where alone they can be said to have an existence. All the more reason, one would say, why its conduct should be temperate and intelligible, and above all things firm enough to prove to the nation at large that it is ruled by an impartial Government, and not by the organs of a small and prejudiced party. Once confound the Government with an unpopular and contemned fraction of the population, and a heavy blow is dealt to respect for law, to reverence for authority, and as a consequence to the peace of the country. This was the defect of former rule in Ireland, when party ends were alone aimed at and alone secured. A swarm of self-seekers profited largely, but the cause of Government as largely suffered. The lawless spirit which in times past appeared amongst the peasantry was a logical development of that selfishness on the part of their superiors which made the name of law a mockery, and authority a cover for the attainment of private ends. From anything that might seem like a tendency to fall back upon such a state of things, it is especially requisite that the Irish Government should guard itself. It will not achieve this end by obviously

deferring to the dictation of that small ascendancy minority which formerly rode rough-shod over the country; and yet this is what it seems to have found it necessary to do for party purposes, however averse it may have been from such a course.

To have a proper conception of the state of Ireland at present, we must not forget that the Church Establishment overlies the country like a gigantic cuttle-fish, with prehensile arms outspread in every direction, and adhesive suckers at work in every parish of the land. The vacuum within only causes them to adhere with more desperate tenacity. The Establishment is in danger, and feels itself to be so; and instead of withdrawing its grasp from those points where it is most open to attack, it clings to them with more defiant obstinacy—

> As when the cuttle-fish, enforced, forsakes
> His rough abode, with his adhesive cups
> He gripes the pebbles still.

Nor is it oblivious of measures of defence. Itself the prime cause of discontent and disaffection, it assumes the hues of loyalty; and to dissemble the motive of the struggle, its special organs, the ascendancy press, pour forth—again like the cuttle-fish—an inky torrent that clouds the view and blackens the victim. This is the case of Ireland. The existence of the Establishment there is the cause of incessant strife; and to save the Establishment men are told to believe that the strife is directed not against it, nor because of it. Such an argument is only an evasion of the fact; and it is

persistently repeated in order that it may acquire, from frequent iteration, a force which it has not in itself.

For it must be borne in mind that the Establishment in Ireland means more than an endowed religion; it means an Endowed Party. It means the endowment of Toryism, of Irish Toryism, that is to say of Orangeism more or less open and avowed. This is a fact deserving of the most serious consideration, and requiring most urgently a speedy remedy. Are we content with the endowment of Orangeism? Are we content to stand quietly by whilst Orangeism, endowed by the State, parades itself before the Irish nation as identical with Government, till the millions take that silence for tacit approval, and turn against Government in the belief that they are striking down Orange ascendancy? If not—if we are not satisfied that Fenianism should flourish perennially—then we must at once strike at its root; and the root of Fenianism lies deep in that system of Orange ascendancy which has been permitted to work its will in Ireland. Orangeism proper was the first secret society in the country after the Williamite Wars. It was not long in being before it provoked hostile organizations; and the same cause has been productive of the same effect every year since. A decisive interference was found necessary when the old Orange Society conspired to subvert the succession to the throne; and Parliament has as much reason now to extinguish an ambition which is a perennial cause of danger to the peace and prosperity of the nation.

If the commonwealth is to be saved from this peril, it must apparently be saved in despite of the party now in power. In the Government of Ireland the Administration has shown that it is too weak to maintain an independent attitude, or even to stand by its own avowed opinions. A case in point will be found in the conduct of the prosecutions against persons who joined in the National Funeral Processions; and there could hardly be found a case more instructive.

When the first procession had taken place in Cork, Lord Derby, in reply to a question in the House of Lords, declared that such processions were not illegal. This opinion being accepted, and explicitly stated as a basis of procedure, a similar procession was organized and took place in Dublin.

The Government stood by its declaration, and did not interfere. The semi-official organs, however, were instructed to say that if there had been any person to testify that a breach of the peace was apprehended, its interference would have been prompt. Meetings of the Privy Council had been held; and although, on the day before the procession, it had had both a morning and an evening session, it issued no proclamation against the intended procession, neither on the ground of intrinsic illegality nor on that of State policy. The procession changed nothing in this respect. Some days elapsed and the Government did not alter its attitude. The Chief Secretary for Ireland made a speech in Parliament declaring

that he would vindicate, but not strain, the law, which necessarily meant that Lord Derby's declaration was to hold good. But presently all this was altered. Proposals having been published for other processions on the succeeding Sunday in several other towns, proclamations were issued to forbid them; and these proclamations no one seems to have thought of ignoring. Thus much could be done in a straightforward manner on the grounds of State policy; but advantage was next taken of the occasion to deal a backhanded blow at the Dublin procession, which had not been forbidden, and whose projectors quoted Lord Derby's declaration as a reason for proceeding.

The consequence of these tactics is that the Government is accused of having laid a trap to entice men to commit an act for which it could then come down upon them with divers pains and penalties. The result is disastrous to the cause of good government. It destroys the confidence which a nation ought to have in its rulers; and this is exactly the vital misfortune in Ireland. But what was the cause of this change of policy?

Apparently it can be traced to no higher source than the wild Orange outcry raised against the Ministry and against the Irish Secretary in particular. His statement that he would govern according to law was quoted with indignation and disgust: he was denounced as a blusterer and a coward. He was declared to be perplexed, palsied, pallid, trembling, craven, stupid, and dull. He was asked where were his arrests

and his prosecutions. This language from a special organ of the Establishment and of Orange ascendancy, backed by letters from one or two Ulster representatives, was followed by an immediate surrender of the Government. Whether Lord Mayo was overruled by his colleagues or not, at all events Lord Derby's declaration was disregarded, and the people were once more taught not to confide in the good faith of English Statesmen. The effect it is needless to enlarge upon. In its subsequent course the Tory Administration appears to have been solely anxious to follow the line dictated to it by the newspaper in question. Some members of the popular press having been summoned as Crown witnesses, the Establishment organ condemned the proceeding, and pointed out one of them as proper rather to be placed in the dock. No sooner said than done. At once the intended witnesses were informed that there had been a mistake; and a few days after the gentleman designated for prosecution was brought up with some others before the magistrates and committed for trial. It has been the same with respect to other prosecutions.

In all this we have an instructive example of Government as it is in Ireland. Lord Mayo's good intentions, and Lord Derby's declaration, have had no other effect than to make the conduct of the Administration appear perfidious in the eyes of the people. This, indeed, is not at all a thing to be deplored by the party of Endowed Orangeism, which confidently and with undoubted reason expects that

its power will expand with the widening of the schism between governors and governed. It is another question whether a disintegrating force like this shall be permitted any longer to exist.

IRISH AMERICA.

"GREAT IRELAND," the name given in ancient Scandinavian records to the Western Continent, may be accepted in a double sense and taken to imply a prophecy which is in a fair way of being fulfilled. It would be a work of great interest to ascertain the exact relations of the Irish to America in former times. St. Brendan, we know, is stated to have made a voyage across the Western Seas and come upon a land characterized by strange beauties. Before his time there existed the legend or tradition, which may have tempted him abroad, of the "Land of Youth." The Celtic imagination invested it with mystery, painted it radiant with all the hues of the sunset sky, and endowed it with such wonderful virtues that it gave strength to the weak, beauty to the ill-favoured, and immortal joy and youth to sad old age. According to a legend, reduced to verse by later bards, Ossian himself went thither; and instead of returning immediately as he had intended, married the king's daughter, and remained for a time which to him,

indeed, seemed short. He found, however, that it had not been so brief as he imagined. When the desire to revisit his country and companions had become too strong to be dissipated by his bride's persuasions, he made his way to Ireland, but found that all had changed; his heroic kindred were dead, the people seemed of less strength and stature, bells were ringing where horns had sounded, and strange clerics were drawing the nation, whose delight had once lain in the chase and martial feats, to exercises of mortification, fasting, and prayer.

The bards make Ossian become a withered, grey old man when he descends upon the Irish soil, and deliver him up, an unwilling penitent, into St. Patrick's hands. There he passes the unlovely winter of his age, scoffing at the droning chaunt of clerics, their inhospitable board and frugal fare; angrily resenting any allusion to the spiritual condition of his former companions, and at once consoling himself and vexing the saint with reminiscences of their peerless prowess. The bards give his arguments with such earnestness that there cannot be a doubt that they found in this polemic an opportunity for venting their own secret griefs. In order to make it more pungent whilst keeping it safe, they committed numerous anachronisms; but the main feature in the myth, the existence of a western land to which a voyager had gone from Ireland, and from which he had returned, is noticeable as harmonizing with many other traits.

The Irish and the Norse were on terms of greater

amity than is popularly supposed; intermarriages between the chief families were not unusual; and such legends as those indicated may have had their influence on the adventurous Scandinavians. Recent archæological discoveries in America appear to give corroboration to the statements in the Northern tales, and countenance to the underlying facts of the Celtic myths. These have been too much neglected, and for antiquated reasons. Nothing is more curious, for instance, than the statements of the older annalists that Ireland was colonised from the East before the Deluge, and that during the Deluge it was inhabited. Their words, of course, have been derided by those who held the ordinary view with respect to the universality of the Flood; and we are not aware that any attempt has ever been made to rehabilitate them, although to geologists they should have been of interest and value in a late controversy. In that Norse name given to the Western Continent, and in those visions of Celtic imagination which pictured it with the attributes of a land of promise, there is something that seems strangely apposite when we consider the subsequent relationship of the Irish to America.

For centuries there has been constantly growing up a closer kinship between Ireland and that great continent, until in our days the Norse name appears to have been prophetic of what has occurred, and the Celtic dreams are found to be not wholly unrealized. The Irish in America bid fair to outnumber their kindred in the old land, whilst there also the worn

and harassed Irish race appears to have renewed its youth and to have risen into prosperity, power, and influence. As Ossian in the "Land of Youth" remembered his former friends, his comrades in battle and the chase, and could not resist returning to share his good fortune with them, so likewise it would appear do the Irish in America dream incessantly of their friends and fellows in the old places of their island home. So likewise, apparently, do they feel at unrest and as sojourners in the land, because their joy is incomplete and their content marred by the memory that what is the past for them is for their kindred in the east, not a past, but a sad and persistent present. These are the feelings which are evident in their poetical effusions, and which are as clearly manifested in their prose literature, in their social actions, and in their political aspirations.

It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at anything like an accurate estimate of the real number of Irish in the United States at the present time. The population of Ireland, it is true, stood lower by two millions and a half at the last census than it did according to the census twenty years before in 1841. But that number does not represent the total of the emigration, because the annual rate of increase in the country had previously been considerable; thus, in the seven years which preceded the date mentioned, the population had increased by a quarter of a million. Whilst, therefore, this constant increase went to swell the loss, we must at the same time recollect that all the emi-

gration did not pour into the United States, for large currents were diverted into Great Britain and the colonies; and, again, the famine slew its thousands, and tens and hundreds of thousands.

By the census of 1861 we find that there were of Irish-born persons in England 580,487; in Wales, 21,147, the number having nearly trebled in both countries during the twenty years previous. In Scotland they amounted to 204,083, and in the Islands of the British seas to 5,534, not having quite doubled in the same period, but forming in Scotland 6·6 per cent. of the whole population. In Western Australia they were reckoned as constituting 21·3 per cent. of the colonists; in Queensland, 18·4; in Victoria, where they amounted to 87,160 persons, they made up 16·1 per cent.; in New South Wales, 15·6; and in South Australia, 10 per cent. In Lower Canada they were present to the number of 50,337, forming 4·5 per cent., and in Upper Canada they constituted 13·7 per cent., their number amounting to 191,231.

But to none of these countries has the emigration streamed in such a full and continuous flood as to the United States of America: compared with this main current, all the others appear as the merest rills.

From the 1st of May, 1851, until the 31st of December, 1864, the total number of emigrants who left Ireland amounted to 1,529,225, and during this period all, with comparatively trifling exceptions, were bound for the United States. Thus the already large Irish population in the States was recruited

from Ireland during those years at an average rate of about 120,000 annually. As a matter of fact, the annual emigrations have fluctuated much. Thus in the first six and three quarter years a total of 838,780, or more than half of the whole number of emigrants, fled their country. During the successive years they varied in amount from the lowest number, 64,292, in 1861, to the highest, 117,229, in 1863.

In order that the sum total may represent the whole emigration from the commencement of the second quarter of 1851 to the present year, we must add to the number given an outflow of 101,497 for 1865, of 99,467 for 1866, of 80,624 for 1867, which would give us a total of 1,810,813 for sixteen years and three-quarters. If we add to this the 12,527 who are recorded as having emigrated during the first quarter of the present year, we shall have for the seventeen years complete, a total of 1,823,340 !

Taking into consideration the vast multitude of emigrants who had left Ireland in the six years preceding 1851, we are led to believe that an estimate of 3,000,000 would not much exaggerate the number of persons of Irish birth who have set foot in the United States since 1845.

Their death-rate may, from various circumstances, have been large, but then what has been the case with respect to their birth-rate ? The emigrants have had amongst them a disproportionately large number of persons in the flower and vigour of life; the old and decrepit having remained behind. The conse-

quence is that one might well expect a higher birth-rate amongst the Irish in America than in Ireland. And though, on the other hand, much allowance must be made for the many hostile circumstances attendant on their new mode of life, yet nevertheless the Irish birth-rate in America remains considerable. And, what is perhaps more important, it is exceedingly high when we compare it with the birth-rate of the native population, which does not love large families. Dr. Nathan Allen, in a speech made at Billerica in 1866, made the following statement, which we find to be fully corroborated from other sources of information.

He said, with especial reference to Lowell and some other towns: "I find that in many of these towns the number of deaths with the American portion for many years far exceeds the births. But if we include the foreign element, it is not so. Their families have two or three times as many children as the same number of American families. The records in Lowell show that for some time, among the American population, there have been every year more deaths than births by about a hundred." Of two other towns—Dunstable and Wilmington—he gives the same reports; and with reference to the district generally, he states that it has been settled for about two hundred years, and that the records of native births for six generations showed an annual and progressive decrease.

The Irish race is, on the other hand, untainted by immoral theories on the subject, and is proverbially

prolific. When, therefore, the native and the "foreign" elements are compared with reference to this matter, we are told by one American paper that "250,000 foreigners produce more children than a million of the "native-born." This computation is based on the birth-records of Massachusetts, where it appears that of the 35,445 births which took place there in 1860, more than one-half were children of parents born in other countries.

Whilst this decrease of productiveness in what has been termed somewhat inaccurately the "native element," appears to be largely due to physiological or natural causes, there cannot be a doubt that much of it is the consequence of the canker of social selfishness. It is not merely that immorality destroys its fruit, but owing to the decay of healthy home life, the self-indulgence of parents, and the frequency of divorce, children are considered a burthen even by some of the married. Too often, it is stated, the wife rather than be a mother will be a murderess. The infant before it has seen the light is condemned to death.* In the United States, alone amid the civilized world, newspapers are allowed to publish as advertisements the shameless and but scantily-disguised inducements of those who offer in their nostrums

* Infanticide exists in England to a deplorable extent, as shown by Dr. Lankester. Certain establishments in London have also been mentioned in medical reports, where obstetric operations are said to take place in a suspiciously short space of time. But the canker of fœticide does not appear to have spread its taint as in parts of the United States, and no paper dare publish columns of such advertise-

incentives to the murder of the unborn babe. Fœticide, or as it called in some American papers "restellism," has become a prevalent crime, and like many crimes it is its own avenger; for the woman who commits it, injures insidiously her own life, and the race guilty of it dooms itself to perish from off the face of the earth.

It is a dark note to a noble history, that papers designed for family reading on Sundays, should have long columns filled with hideous advertisements of this kind, and yet be published and be prosperous in a chief city in the Republic of Washington. It is, however, something that the evil results of all this have become so manifest, as to cause the organs of the clergy and of the medical profession to raise the cry of alarm, in which they are supported by the special organ of "Woman's Rights." The *American Quarterly Church Review*, for July, 1868, declares: "No thoughtful man can behold without solicitude the low grade of domestic morals which seems to prevail to a large extent in our New England families. The general decay of public sentiment in respect to family religion, the practical neglect of the holy scriptures, the infrequency of family prayer, the reluctance of parents to make their children obey, the transfer of responsibility for the manners and morals of chil-

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ments. Occasionally a low paper may insert some such quack notice, but even there it is put away in an obscure corner. The laws which consigned to the flames some tons of obscene works, in London, have no doubt had great influence in preventing flagrant solicitation to the crime.

dren from parents to public school teachers, the common rudeness and arrogance of boys and girls, the great prevalence of untruth amongst the young, the license and familiarity of intercourse which is allowed between the growing youth of different sexes, the murder of living but unborn children, the number of illegitimate births—all these are sufficient to fill one with consternation and dismay. To all these signs of demoralization there is to be added one which is closely connected with them, which fosters them, and is fostered by them in turn—we refer to the very great and alarming frequency of divorce. This has grown to be a portentous evil. It is certainly one of the most significant signs of the real condition of our domestic life. It is communicating a sad coloring to the whole inner life of the people. It is working its way from the lowest strata of society upwards, and exerting a decided influence in the control of public opinion." It quotes, from statistics furnished in the report of the Secretary of Vermont State, figures to show that to every nineteen marriages there is one divorce, and that the evil is increasing. In Massachusetts affairs are not so bad. During five years there was one divorce to every forty-four marriages, but that there is a downward tendency is evident from the fact that in the last year there was one divorce to every thirty-seven marriages. Connecticut shows the worst record of the three States. "There, the average of five years of divorces to five years of marriages is as one divorce to every eleven marriages, and during the last year as one to ten." Full statis-

tics had not been collected for the States of Maine, Rhode Island, or New Hampshire; but it is said that there is no reason to suppose that any of them, at the best, could produce even such a record as Massachusetts.

On the other hand, a contributor writing in the same month, from Northfield in the first-named State of Vermont, to the *Boston Transcript*, a purely American paper, says: "The Irish, formerly seen only as hired labourers, building our railways and cities, are found in this region in the possession of farms. Several, I was told, have become owners of farms in the town *(sic)*, which they manage very well. In our school district their children composed the majority of the scholars, and the teacher said they were the more bright and better behaved portion of the school. In a small adjoining town the Irish compose the majority of the population. This brings forward the indomitable all-pervading race under a new aspect. Are they to own and till our soil as well as build our works of improvement?"

Two great facts, therefore, remain constant: the Irish element in America is largely recruited every year from the flower of the population in Ireland, and it is productive beyond the descendants of the former settlers called "natives" There is no need to point out that, under such circumstances, the Hesperidian visions of the Celts of Ancient Erinn are in a fair way of becoming realities, and that North America may have reason soon to recognize a true prophecy in that name, which the Norse Sagas gave it, of "Great Ireland."

THE IRISH-AMERICAN PRESS.

WHEN the earlier emigrants from Ireland landed in America, and settled in the colonies which have since become the United States, the newspaper press was in a very undeveloped condition. They do not appear to have thought it needful, even if they were able, to originate a special organ to represent their peculiar interests. They were not set apart from their neighbours as a race; and the colony of Maryland, in which they took up their abode, was Catholic, but tolerant —in fact, almost the only tolerant colony at the period. They occupied a position not devoid of influence; for we find that at the breaking out of the revolution, one of them, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, was amongst those who signed the Declaration of Independence, and was considered a man of good standing and great worth. It has been remarked that his is the only name to which the owner's place of abode was attached, and the singularity is stated to have occurred in this way. He had signed the document like the others with his Christian and surname only.

Some one, standing by, observed that even if the fortune of war should turn against them, he would have a good chance of escaping, on account of the number of persons who bore his name. Carroll took up the pen again at once, and declaring that he would leave no room for doubt on the subject, added his place of abode to his signature.

Besides these pioneers from the southern provinces of Ireland, there had been a continual emigration silting out from the northern province, and chiefly from the Presbyterian population of Ulster. These emigrants had been driven forth like the others by causes partly political, partly social. The prelatical party which had troubled their kin in Scotland bore hard upon them in Ulster, and was not to be overthrown. Attempts had been made likewise by some of the great landlords to break in upon their ancient customs and rights, as for example, by exacting heavy fines for the renewal of leases. And finally, those who admired the doctrine of the Rights of Man, and were inoculated with the enthusiasm of the French Revolutionists, were numerous and of good repute amongst them. From these causes there were several attempts at revolt, and their extinction always gave a new impulse to the current of emigration. In the West the emigrants found freedom for their faith, sympathy for their politics, and a soil the cultivation of which no landlord could make penal by the exaction of exorbitant fines or heavy rents. Special organs of the press they do not appear

to have aimed to set up, for they found that they had come among men of opinions similar to their own; but one characteristic institution they did establish—a society half-political, half-social, such as they had known in Ireland. This brotherhood they named the "Friendly Sons of St. Patrick." Its object was to cement the bond of union between the revolutionists of Ireland and America. The Irish harp and the American symbols were combined on their medals; and clasped hands indicated the union they desired. The Society aided the young Republican Government greatly by volunteered supplies of large amount; and Washington, as a mark of appreciation, became a member, after having first been inscribed as an adopted citizen of Ireland. The society still exists, in name at least, though newer organizations have thrown it somewhat into the shade: it revives, however, once a year to celebrate St. Patrick's Day.

The origin of what is known as the Irish-American Press must not be looked for amongst these men, but rather amongst the Irish Catholics. For the former became fused more or less completely with those who were before them; and, consequently, when any repoach was uttered against the character of the Irish, it glanced aside from them and smote the Catholic Irish. Then organ after organ arose to represent these latter, to explain their views, and to vindicate their character. It had not been found needful when they were gathered together in Maryland, where Archbishop Carroll, a relative of the signer of the

Declaration of Independence, found them in 1785, to the number of some twenty thousand, with an outlying post of eight thousand in Pennsylvania, and a congregation of only two hundred in New York. With all these some English Catholics were intermingled; but Moylan, the first Quartermaster-General of the American army, Fitzsimmons, the member of Congress, and the celebrated Commodore John Barry, the founder of the American navy, were of the race and faith of the native Irish. It was in New York, where the Irish were most scantily planted, that the first Irish-American paper was founded. As has been said, they found themselves called on to vindicate their character; and it was therefore quite natural that their first organ should appear where they were most subject to attack. They gave it the name of the *Shamrock*, to show that it expressed the views of men whose country was represented by that emblem, and whose faith was established by the saint who is popularly said to have made it the symbol of a doctrine. But at that time the shamrock was as much worn by the Irish Protestants as by the Irish Catholics, and the paper which bore its name took only incidental cognizance of questions of religious controversy. It appears to have been suceeded by a journal called the *Truth-Teller*, the name of which would indicate a more strictly religious intent: and this phase of the Irish-American press was formally inaugurated by the establishment in Charlestown of the *Catholic Miscellany*. Its founder was Bishop England, an Irish-

man, and a contemporary of O'Connell. Naturally enough other dioceses felt bound to follow the example; and as the Irish Catholic emigration began to increase, newspaper after newspaper sprang into existence, with the words "Official Organ of his Grace the Archbishop," &c., broadly blazoned on the title-page. In 1856, the Archbishop of New York, an Irishman from Ulster, stated that there were then more Catholic periodicals, of one name or another, published in America, than there were among the English speaking Catholics of the whole world besides.

There may have been one lay Irish organ in New York during the early part of this period, but the lay element only began to assert itself on the breakdown of the revolt in Ireland in 1848. The movement which culminated in that event was a culture-movement, if newspapers could make it so; and its failure has persuaded the Fenians that newspapers are poor instruments of warfare. But one result, at least, came of the suppression of the outbreak. The literary revolutionists were dispersed over the world, and they founded a lay transmarine Irish press, with a representative in every country where English is spoken. Mitchel, when, after his detention at Bermuda, he was transferred to Van Diemen's Land, found, indeed, that one of the minor fry of "Young Ireland" had started an organ even in that penal island, and had named it the *Irish Exile*. He was amazed at the discovery, and disgusted to find that he was invited to join in

the concern, "God preserve me from organs of opinion," he writes; "have I sailed round the terraqueous globe and dropped in here in a cove of the far South Pacific, to find an 'able editor' mounted stiltwise upon phrases tall, and blowing deliberate puffs in my face?" Nevertheless, when he afterwards escaped to the United States, he originated and edited sucessively a couple of political papers, in which he advocated Southern views in American affairs. His companion in banishment, T. F. Meagher, likewise brought an accession to the lay Irish press in the *Irish News*. He exchanged the pen for the sword, however, during the recent war, rose to eminence in the army, and at the time of his decease was Acting Governor of Montana. Whilst these men were undergoing their sentence of transportation in what is now Tasmania, another literary revolutionist, T. D'Arcy McGee who, at the time of his assassination, enjoyed the post of Minister of Agriculture in Canada, had set up the *American Celt* in New York. At various intervals, but to a minor degree, the Irish in Canada and Australia obtained representation likewise in the public press, and have their religious and lay papers.

This accession to the number of newspapers representing the Irish element does not appear to have been altogether welcome to the exclusively religious press. It was a disturbing force, which was not always so decorous and moderate in its political professions as the best policy was thought to require, whilst in its religious professions it was found if

not too moderate, at least reticent to a tantalizing degree. Sometimes, too, its tone was provoking, and the Catholic press, which had always been put upon its defence and was generally rather apologetic except in matters of religion, was not satisfied. *Brownson's Review* represented a section of this party. Besides being very anti-revolutionary, it hoped that Catholicism was making a rapid progress in America; and did not therefore care to have the project interrupted by the political turmoil into which the new papers seemed to be drawing the Irish; whilst it feared that the influx of Irish emigrants, if so represented in the press, might tend to make religion appear a question of race, and thus prejudice the native Americans against it. Dr. Hughes, who might have been himself an editor had he not been Archbishop of New York, felt called upon more than once to interpose in the discussions which arose not merely anonymously in his official organ, the *Metropolitan Record*, but openly with his signature. In one of his occasional letters we find him giving admonitions all round, reasoning quietly and not without a stroke of humour. He preferred this method apparently to strict authoritative reprobation or denunciation. The influence of the institutions of the Republic was upon him, and when remonstrating with those he opposed, he rarely failed to win over his flock to his view, so that the more obstinate of his opponents found their readers rapidly diminishing. He noticed that the unity of the Catholic press

was imperilled because of the new views of the more recent papers. On the one side some were for identifying Catholicism with the Irish, and its advancement with their influx; they argued that Americans were naturally hostile to it, and that the best way of promoting the faith would be to draw a broad line of distinction between the new and the old settlers, and perpetuate the Celtic nation as a race apart, and a special Catholic people. This view was strenuously denounced by others, especially by some American converts, who declared that Catholicism found an obstacle to surmount in the fact of aliens professing its doctrines so largely, because that gave it a foreign character, whilst its advance required that it should take out its naturalization papers as soon as possible, and become racy of the Republic. The Archbishop exerted himself to still those growing animosities of race which were against the unifying spirit of the Catholic Church; and he had the less difficulty in moderating the Irishism of his flock, which the *American Celt* would fain have cultivated, inasmuch as his people knew him to be with them heart and soul in their views with regard to Ireland.

It may here be remarked that the Irish-American press is not so isolated from the general sentiment of the country as one might at first imagine. In fact the union was so close that the attempted disruption of the States caused a divergence of opinion, even in the Catholic press, which the Archbishop had not foreseen. His own especial paper went so strongly for

the South, that he had to direct the removal of the words "Official Organ" from the title. The *Metropolitan Record* and the *Freeman's Journal*, from having been almost exclusively religious, became secular and political. The *Tablet*, however, remains constant; and as a convert Bishop, Dr. Silliman Ives, has been connected with it editorially, it is likely to remain so for some time. The organ of the Archbishop of Cincinnati, another Irishman, went somewhat into the political arena, and did good service to the Northern cause, being not a little confirmed in its faith by the exploits of General Rosencranz (brother of one of the bishops,) whose success in the West relieved the monotony of the checks and defeats in the East. But whilst the political excitement of the day thus tended to secularize some of the religious papers, there was another agent at work in the person of John O'Mahony, one of the founders of Fenianism.

Previous to the war, the organs of McGee and Meagher ceased to exist, and Mitchel had transferred his to the South, where, however, he did not continue very long in close connection with it. There remained, then, besides the religious papers only the *Irish-American* in New York, the *Universe* in Philadelphia, and the *Pilot* in Boston, not to reckon the *Irish News* in San Francisco, which supplemented the more religious *Monitor*, and some others scattered through the chief cities. To form a public opinion favourable to his project of a new organiza-

tion, O'Mahony found that he must start an organ of his own, which he accordingly did under the name of the *Phœnix*. He worked hard, and the organization developed and spread whilst he was forming and disciplining troops little by little. His principles advanced; and if an Irish regiment refused to parade before the Prince of Wales on his visit to the United States, it was because its commander, Corcoran, had become a Fenian. It was soon found unnecessary to continue an especial organ, because the lay Irish papers began to take up the Fenian cause. Among the first to do so was the *Irish-American*, and the movement soon obtained influence enough to win over the Philadelphia paper from its official allegiance to episcopal authority. The *Pilot*, a popular treasury of Irish-American news, and, generally speaking, the remainder of the Irish-American press have looked on Fenianism with favour because of its object, but some regard it with doubtfulness and some with distrust on account of its means.

Still its spirit has become sufficiently powerful to influence their tone considerably; and new papers spring up naturally to represent it. Thus when the *Irish People* was suppressed in Dublin, two organs of the same name were established, one in New York, and one in California. The former still represents the O'Mahony party, whilst the *Irish-American* represents the Roberts party, which has absorbed much of the Confederacy. All the latest papers which have sprung into existence are Fenian, as the *Fenian Vol-*

unteer in Buffalo, and the *Irish Republic* first established in Chicago. The *Irish Citizen*, founded in New York by John Mitchel, although opposed to the present form of Fenianism, is conducted in a similar spirit and written with that incisiveness which makes its editor's works so popular with his countrymen. Besides these there are many which have merely local names, but which are not the less Fenian, since they are edited by Irishmen. Many of the papers we have named are written soberly and argumentatively, and several even display considerable talent. But of course their object is determinedly kept before the eyes of their readers, who are not merely the Irish, but include many of the native-born. The Irish, however, have a strong taste for writing; and many of them guide and edit papers not professedly Irish. In Central and South America this is generally the case with newspapers printed in English, whilst in the United States Dr. Brownson is reported to have said that the Irish command the press. There are very few of the papers which have not an Irish contributor; and there are many whose politics are more or less influenced or controlled by Irish writers. Of course, they must keep the paper in harmony with the views of their American readers; but those views are rarely offended by an attack on England, which, although it may be formally grounded on reasons of American policy, may not the less have been suggested by wounded Irish feelings.

THE IRISH PRESS.

THERE are few countries which, in the life-time of one generation, have witnessed greater or more hopeful changes in their condition than Ireland. These changes, however, have been achieved so laboriously and with such suffering, no amelioration ever having been at any time conceded promptly and graciously, that the nation considers less the advance made than the obstacles which still lie in the way of its progress. As might be expected, this applies chiefly to the younger politicians, whose tendency is to think nothing done until all they want is obtained, and who, not remembering the many triumphs won, are led to despair by seeing the slow advance of their cause and the many checks thrown in its way. From despair they fly to conspiracy and to arms; for whilst novelists and others have painted the Celt as volatile, history shows that no defeat however great, no persecution however sanguinary, has prevented the Irish from clinging to a purpose with extreme tenacity. When the elders lay down their weapons and desist from the

combat, either through hopelessness, or because they are to some degree content with the advance made, their juniors take them up, and in spite of warnings and forebodings, enter the arena to renew the struggle at the point where their fathers left off.

This is the secret of those exacerbations which, from time to time, are to be observed in the history of Irish politics; the new generation is then entering the contested field, fresh and vigorous, and impatient of delay. The want of statesmanship shown in dealing with Irish questions has established this condition of things as a permanent one, and it will endure so long as the same policy is continued. The popular demand has never been met frankly or discussed fairly unless under evident pressure of circumstances; so that the Irish have been trained to feel that they are dealing with a grudging opponent, and not made to consider that they are an integral portion of an Empire with constitutional rights as sacred as those of the English or the Scotch. Still, the successes which have been gained, and the considerate tone adopted by some English politicians, have availed to temper the hostility generated by such a strife. There are many, indeed, who advocate a total separation of the two countries by arms; and if affairs be allowed to continue as they are, this party may grow with greater rapidity than heretofore, in consequence of the new importance of the transmarine Irish emigrants and their descendants in the United States and other countries. But if demands of a more moderate kind

were frankly conceded, these extreme views would practically disappear. The mere rectification of such grievances as the exclusion of Irish Catholics from this or that position and post, or the absenteeship of the Sovereign, almost perpetual as it is and always alienating in its effect, would do little if anything to the permanent pacification of Ireland, for the nation believes it has a right to all this, and to much more; so that, although some irritation might be allayed, the change would not be enough to give solid satisfaction.

The Irish Nationalists complain that Ireland has no real weight in the councils of the Empire, and little influence in the management of its own affairs. A whole revelation, they say, is found in the fact that Ireland is never asked to be loyal to the Crown and Constitution. Whenever the question of loyalty arises in connection with Ireland, the only phrases which emanate from statesmen and political writers are those which declare that Ireland is or ought to be "loyal to England," "loyal to English institutions," or "loyal to the English Government"—phrases which indicate that in the habitual thought and action of the English with regard to Ireland, an equality under a common Constitution is not realized, but the subjection of one nation to another is assumed. The same spirit is displayed when even Liberal writers desiring to be friendly become patronizing, and promise that though England injured Ireland in the past, Englishmen will "do something" for her bye and bye. Even men who admire the Union are offended by this lofty tone

of superiority, indicative as it appears to be of the utter insignificance into which their nation is assumed to have fallen, whilst the Union-pact promised at least a certain equality. If they are offended by what may, perhaps, be often a mere vice of expression, the masses accept it as a deliberate insult, the token of a subjugating policy, and resent it accordingly.

All these shades of feeling have been represented in the Irish press, the history of which is symptomatic of the important changes that have taken place in the condition of the people and of parties in Ireland. About the Union period the newspaper press in Ireland reflected the opinions prevalent in the country to a limited extent. There were Government organs and popular papers; but they did not exist upon equal terms. Freedom of the press was to be understood with many qualifications. Those journals which advocated popular opinions had every obstacle thrown in their path; whilst those which supported the policy of the Government were largely subsidized, and place and perquisites lavished upon their proprietors. During the agitation of the Volunteer question, Mr. Eden wrote, in 1781, from Dublin to Lord North:—"We have hitherto, by the force of good words and with some degree of private expense, preserved an ascendancy over the press not hitherto known here; and it is of an importance equal to ten thousand times its cost, but we are without the means of continuing it." For many years the notorious Francis Higgins was favoured with large bribes, official countenance, im-

munity for his crimes, promotion to magisterial office, and protection against all opponents. Bribes were awarded in various ways, direct and indirect. In the latter case frequent insertions of Government proclamations as advertisements were ordered, for which a disproportionately large price was paid. Sir A. Wellesley, in 1809, writing to the Under-Secretary of State, refers to the measures which he had in contemplation with respect to newspapers in Ireland :—" It is quite impossible to leave them entirely to themselves," he says, adding that he was one of those who thought it would be very dangerous to allow the press in Ireland to take care of itself, particularly as it had been so long in leading-strings Some retrenchments had been made, with regard to the number of proclamations given to be published as advertisements ; but reform in that direction he thought had been carried as far as it would go, except, indeed, that some papers of small circulation might be now totally struck off the list. There were papers, it seems, whose circulation was not worth naming, but which were kept in existence in order to secure these proclamation subsidies, on which they wholly depended. But while he considered that these might be deprived of official support, and that the sums charged for proclamations might be diminished, Sir A. Wellesley directed that the better kind of papers should be allowed to charge an increased amount for other advertisements and publications. The expenses, however, should be kept within the sum of ten thousand pounds ; and care

should be taken to set out the account of this money in such a presentable fashion that it might be laid before Parliament. On the other hand, the organs of the popular party were subject to harsh treatment; and their owners were not unfrequently taught by fine and imprisonment for everything which partial judges could construe as an offence, how imprudent it was to advocate views which authority wished to silence.

In those days, however, the Irish Press was wholly in the hands of the colonial section of the people, and thus whether liberal in politics or the reverse, was no complete index to the mind of the masses of the nation. With O'Connell, organs to represent these began to appear. He was, it is true, ably and consistently supported by one or two Protestant Liberal journals in Dublin; but as the agitation which he conducted proceeded, popular papers sprang up in many of the chief provincial towns. He took a lesson out of the book of his opponents, and whenever the funds were in a state to afford it, the organs of his party were duly remembered to their advantage. This may have been not unnecessary at first; but the interest which his proceedings excited among his countrymen made the establishment of independent popular journals a profitable possibility. Thus it was that such a paper as the *Nation* could be planned and published, a journal which very soon gave evidence of talent, and even of genius. The spread of education favoured the establishment of representative organs; and the ardent thirst for knowledge on the part of

those to whom it had been long refused, and who were called from apathy to agitation, promoted and enlarged their circulation. When "Young Ireland" separated from the "moral force" party, more than one journal sprang up to urge their opinions on the country.

The government of the day resumed its traditionary tactics, and the Birch trial revealed to the public in 1850 that the editor of the *World* had been subsidized to write down the leaders of the extreme Nationalist party, and to denounce them as Socialists and Red Republicans. This, however, was found insufficient; and other means were adopted. The police were directed to prevent the sale of certain journals; and even before their editors were brought to trial, the agents of authority had directions to arrest any newsvenders selling the Nationalist organs, and to confiscate copies wherever they might be found. Next followed the period of forcible entry and destruction of type and printing cases, and afterwards came the trials and banishment of the leaders of Young Ireland, including several editors.

The momentary lull was succeeded by the Tenant-Right agitation, in which the revived *Nation* under Mr. Duffy, and the *Tablet* under Mr. Lucas, chiefly figured. The policy of forming an Irish "independent opposition" party was then adopted to promote the success of the Tenant-Right Bill; and members of Parliament were pledged not to accept place until it was carried. Mr. Sadlier, the present Judge Keogh,

and some others soon departed from this purpose, and in order to defend their course, Mr. Sadlier founded and subsidized a special organ, called the *Telegraph*, which denounced abstention from office, even under such circumstances, as unpatriotic and highly prejudicial to the "interests of religion." Some dignitaries of the Church coincided in this view; and the most prominent of the advocates of tenant-right amongst the clergy were directed to hold their peace or removed to quiet mountain parishes, where they would run no risk of being involved in political squabbles. Mr. Lucas carried an appeal against this system to Rome, but in vain; Mr. Duffy, in despair at the break up of the party, went to Australia; Mr. Lucas died; and Mr. John Sadlier, in the midst of his triumph, was discovered one morning to be a suicide and a bankrupt.

The paper which he founded has perished also. The *Nation* on the contrary lives and is supplemented by the *Weekly News*, a penny paper with cartoons, which are a new feature in Irish journalism. In the office occupied by the *Tablet* before its transfer to London, the *Irishman*, maintaining nationalist views, is now published, and is supplemented also by an illustrated periodical. These papers advocate a settlement of the Irish question somewhat analogous to that which has been adopted in Hungary, and are supported in their views by several papers in the provinces, and by some even in England and Scotland. Since 1848 no paper except the *Irish People* has been supposed to advocate the immediate appeal to arms; and that journal dif-

fered from all others, inasmuch as it was established to promote the spread of the Fenian confederacy. After a year's existence, its office was forcibly broken into by the police, on 15th September, 1865, and the trials of its conductors as chiefs of the "Irish Republic" followed. Three years after, in last spring, no legislative amelioration of admitted grievances having been accomplished, a government prosecution of the proprietors of the *Irishman* and *Weekly News* was undertaken. The cartoons of the latter paper constituted its chief offence. For the defence, it was urged that whilst London prints are permitted to caricature Ireland and the Irish with impunity, it was unfair to indict a Dublin journal for repaying them in kind. The *Irishman* was charged with having offended in publishing Fenian news, and in one original article, to which two others were afterwards added. The Attorney-General having paid a compliment to the eloquence and learning of the incriminated articles, declined to consent to have the cases tried before a special jury, as suggested by a judge on the grounds that the jury thus found would be more intelligent. The proprietors of both papers were convicted and sentenced respectively to terms of six months' and of twelve months' imprisonment—these terms being subsequently abridged by one-half in both cases.

It is to be hoped that the policy of coercion without concession shall have ended with the present Parliament, and in its fruits—these frequent prosecutions —shall have left no seed to perpetuate the poisons that have sprung from it too often.

In Dublin and the South of Ireland the Protestant papers are as a rule—with scarcely an exception—Conservative and advocates of ascendancy. Northwards a few Presbyterian papers advocate Liberal principles, whilst the journals connected with the Established Church are Conservative, and even tinctured with Orangeism. The Liberal press throughout the kingdom agrees in urging the settlement of the Land Question by the establishment of security of tenure and compensation for improvements, and a few Conservative journals support the same principles. All the Liberal papers advocate the disendowment of the Church Establishment, and, though doubtless differing on points of detail, they are unanimous in deploring the unsatisfactory state in which the question of University Education has been allowed to remain. In the advocacy of their respective principles the several sections of the Irish press not unfrequently display much talent, epigrammatic smartness, and rhetorical power.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE ANCIENT IRISH LAWS.

FOR nearly two centuries the translation of the ancient legal manuscripts of Ireland was to Irish antiquaries what the discovery of the philosopher's stone was to the alchemists—a problem the solution of which they earnestly but vainly desired. "I have had an opportunity of conversing with some of the most learned Irish scholars in our island," wrote Charles O'Conor of Balanagar, in the last century, "and they freely confessed to me that to them both the text and gloss were equally unintelligible." The key for expounding both, he adds, was, so late as the reign of Charles I., possessed by the MacEgans, who kept their law school in Tipperary, but since that time it seemed to have been lost. His supposition is not quite correct, for Duald Mac Firbis, the compiler of the *Chronicum Scotorum*, who received part of his education in their school, knew it. In the introduction to his *Book of Genealogies* he records that he had compiled an explanatory Dictionary of the Brehon

Laws; but after his murder by one of the roystering scions of the ascendancy gentry it appears to have been lost. Nothing more was heard of it until the late Eugene O'Curry discovered a fragment in the library of the University of Dublin. Even O'Flaherty, says Dr. Ledwich, "who had been instructed by Mac Firbis, could scarcely explain one page of the ancient laws;" "the great Lhwyd," he continues, "tells the Royal Society he consulted the best Irish scholars upon this subject, but in vain." No ordinary Irish scholar, with the assistance of the existing Irish dictionaries, could, in Dr. Ledwich's time, understand the language of the ancient laws. O'Reilly, who compiled another dictionary, and whose Essay on the Ancient Institutes of Ireland was honoured by a gold medal from the Royal Irish Academy in 1824, makes a similar admission. "Both text and gloss," he says, "are, it is confessed, obsolete, and to the person who is acquainted only with the vulgar dialect of the modern Irish, must be unintelligible." From the murder of Mac Firbis, in 1670, until the eve of the appointment of a Commission in 1852, to direct, superintend, and carry into effect the transcription and translation of the ancient laws of Ireland, the Brehon laws appear to have remained an insoluble problem for Irish scholars and antiquaries.

The Commissioners were authorized to select "such documents and writings containing the said ancient laws as they should deem it necessary to transcribe and translate; and from time to time to employ fit

and proper persons to transcribe and translate the same." From this it would appear that the lost key had been found, and the once insoluble problem had become capable of receiving a satisfactory solution. It would be of interest to know how, after so many years had elapsed, after so many vain attempts had been made, after a man who had been instructed in the ancient legendary lore had given up the task on attempting a page, so happy a change had occurred, and who it was to whom learning was indebted for it. For a full explanation of a point so important, and in many ways so curious and instructive, we should naturally look to the preface to the first volume published under the sanction of the Commission. That work is known as the *Senchus Mor*, published in 1865; and to the preface the name of Dr. W. N. Hancock, formerly Professor of Jurisprudence in Queen's College, Belfast, is appended. The late Dr. O'Donovan, and the late Professor O'Curry, it is stated, were the Irish scholars employed by the Commissioners to transcribe and translate the ancient laws. The former made a preliminary translation which fills twelve volumes, and the latter made one which is contained in thirteen volumes. When this was done (we are not told how) the Commissioners employed Dr. Hancock "to prepare the first part of the *Senchus Mor* for publication, in conjunction with Dr. O'Donovan." After the death of this distinguished Irish scholar, Dr. Hancock had the assistance of Mr. O'Mahony, Professor of Irish in Trinity College, who,

curiously enough, had not been selected by the Commissioners as one of the translators. This omission was, in a sense, repaired when he was associated with Dr. Hancock and Dr. Hancock's assistant to revise the translation of the deceased scholar, O'Donovan.

We are not told in the preface in what way the lost key to the obsolete language was found, or who it was that discovered it. We are simply informed that these two Irish scholars, O'Donovan and O'Curry, were employed to make a translation; and forthwith they are set down as having made one. There is something strange, not to say mysterious, in this; for generally speaking speedy solutions of difficult problems are not to be had to order. The Commissioners apparently were guided by an "unerring instinct" which did not forsake them as time went on, but rather showed itself more clearly in their later appointments. For, although we are not at all informed as to how O'Donovan and O'Curry managed to accomplish what they did achieve—to make a translation despaired of for nigh two centuries—we are carefully told in what they failed, and how their failure was remedied, and by whom. The difficulties predicted by former scholars "became manifest in the progress of the work," says Dr. Hancock, "and in the preliminary translation of the *Senchus Mor* manuscripts, which was made for the Commissioners by the late Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry, many words and phrases were left untranslated, and the sense of many of the passages remained obscure."—But they were

not destined to continue so for long. "The entire of the translation in this state was read over by my assistant, Mr. Busteed, and myself, and the difficult and unsatisfactory passages carefully noted;" and then what had apparently proved too much for the two Irish scholars was triumphantly accomplished by the two gentlemen who were not Irish scholars. Almost all the difficult passages and untranslated words were explained and rendered into English. Pains are taken to show how Dr. Hancock and his assistant accomplished their feat. "For the translation of such passages, the glosses explanatory of particular terms or phrases were studied," we are told, "and different parts of the laws compared, and suggestions were made to Dr. O'Donovan; and upon consultation with him the entire translation was revised, and meanings assigned to the great majority of the untranslated words and phrases." The happy art with which the difficulties were got over is remarkable; and a reader of the preface can scarcely fail to contrast it with the obtuseness of the scholars whose names are mentioned, as well as with the perplexity of those who preceded them. For nearly two centuries Irish scholars had despaired of accomplishing a translation of the antiquated language; but an official lawyer and his assistant, taken at random and utterly unskilled in the subject, were able promptly to suggest satisfactory solutions for nearly all the most obscure terms, and correct translations for the great majority of the most difficult passages and most obsolete phrases.

It appears that Dr. Todd, one of the Commissioners, made observations on a few of the sheets; whilst Dean Graves, another of the Commissioners, gave the entire translation the benefit of his "numerous valuable suggestions." The proof sheets were all, however, finally considered by Professor O'Mahony and by Dr. Hancock, "with such aid as could be derived from a reference to other portions of the Brehon laws, translated by Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry." It might be asked why the surviving translator was not appealed to, instead of his translation of other portions of the work; but we are told that after Dr. O'Donovan's death, the Commissioners "proposed to submit" the proof sheets to Professor O'Curry, in order to have the benefit "of his suggestions also." "His sudden death," adds Dr. Hancock, "prevented this being carried out."

Professor O'Curry survived his colleague for nearly three-quarters of a year; and to urge the plea of his sudden death as a reason for not having submitted the proof sheets to him, is to convict the Commissioners of the delay which kept back the publication of the work.

These statements with regard to the translation, must be borne in mind when we refer back to this other passage in the same preface. "The manuscripts of the *Senchus Mor* were translated by Dr. O'Donovan; some portions were translated also by Professor O'Curry; and the Manuscript H. 3. 18. was translated by Professor O'Curry before Dr. O'Donovan executed his translation of it." This is somewhat bewildering.

We may, indeed, reconcile it with the other statements by supposing that what are called "translations" here were only very imperfect versions, and that Dr. Hancock even here means that the two Irish scholars skipped all the hard words and passages which he and his assistant so promptly noted and translated. But this will not explain a mystery that crops up in the relations of the Commissioners with Professor O'Curry. We are told that, "after the death of Dr. O'Donovan, the Commissioners proposed to submit the proof sheets to Professor O'Curry, in order to have the benefit of his suggestions also." Why was not this done before the death of Dr. O'Donovan? From this passage it might be supposed that O'Curry was an indifferent spectator, just able to offer "suggestions," whilst it is stated in the previous quotation that he actually had translated "some portions," and rendered "the manuscript H. 3. 18" into English "before Dr. O'Donovan executed his translation of it." On reference to the body of the work, we find large and important portions of it marked by his initials; and yet what is it that we are compelled to infer from Dr. Hancock's statements? It seems incredible, but it is manifest, that Professor O'Curry was not asked to assist in the publication of a volume portions of which were his own work, and that, moreover, the proof-sheets were not sent to him—not even the proof-sheets of those passages of which he himself had been the translator! If the preparation of the volume for publication was carried on surreptitiously without his knowledge, this

is intelligible, and it becomes easy to perceive the reason why after the death of Dr. O'Donovan it was "proposed" so ineffectually to submit them to him for "his suggestions also;" but otherwise it is difficult to understand why, in so grave a work, the proof-sheets should be withheld from a translator, and how those who were concerned in the proceeding can excuse themselves from severe blame.

Even apart from these aggravating circumstances, it would have been in the highest degree reprehensible not to seek, in such an important work, all the aid that could be given by so great an Irish scholar as O'Curry. Although his name is made to occupy a subordinate position throughout, it is none the less to him that we owe the translation of these laws, for so many years despaired of. It was in 1835 that, having obtained an engagement on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, he was first enabled to devote his attention specially to a study of MSS. in the Irish language. The duty allotted to him was the examination of the Irish MSS. contained in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, the Royal Irish Academy, &c., in order that he should transcribe and translate such passages as he found to throw light upon the topography and local and family history of Ireland. From the beginning of 1836 to the end of 1842 the chief part of his time was devoted to this occupation, and during these six years he used his opportunity so well as to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the scope and contents of every Irish manuscript worth consulting

in Dublin. His heart was in his work, and the collection of curious and important extracts which he made for historical and topographical purposes delighted and surprised the conductors of the section of the Survey to which he was attached. During these years also, being daily familiarized with the contents of the Irish MSS., he began to turn his attention to the "Brehon Laws," and soon gave up almost all his spare time to their study. In those days all hope of a scholar rising up in Ireland capable of reading and translating them had long been abandoned; but this did not dissuade O'Curry from examining them. He determined to see for himself wherein their great difficulty lay, and with this view he began by accurately copying in fac simile a few of the commentaries. These, written in natural though difficult and somewhat obsolete phraseology, he found himself soon able to master. Next he turned his attention to the more difficult places, where the maxims of the law were given in the ancient and very obscure language of the *Berla Féine*, or Fenian dialect. On patient analysis he found this part of the manuscript to consist generally of three portions:—first, the obscure maxim; secondly, an interlined gloss; and thirdly, a commentary in which the maxim or maxims were further explained and applied to the case in point. In the hands of a capable and persevering scholar, here were means of unravelling the difficulties of the most ancient text, and Eugene O'Curry was both capable and persevering. Having first devoted a considerable

portion of his time to these studies, in order to make sure of his bearings, his next step was to form a collection of the ancient, obscure, technical words or phrases with their glosses and commentaries. This he did in his leisure hours and for his own satisfaction and private use; and when it was completed he broke up the whole, where necessary, and threw it into dictionary order. The difficult words and phrases were arranged in proper sequence for consultation, and appended to each were the explanatory gloss or comment, and a reference to the book, its class and page, in which they were to be found. To this great law collection he continued assiduously to add whatever words, phrases, or paragraphs he came across in the oldest, most difficult, and obsolete pieces, prose or poetry, that he could find in other manuscripts. Their explanatory context, whenever it existed, was in all cases appended. In this manner it came to pass that he at length found himself the possessor of a vast collection of words, glosses, explanations, and examples, of an extent and character such as no Irish scholar had previously been known to have made. There was no longer any need to deplore the lost Dictionary of MacFirbis: the persevering industry and scientific mind of O'Curry had supplied its place by one, in all probability, much more satisfactory and complete.

The result soon was made manifest. When the Ordnance Survey was suspended in 1842, and the Irish Archæological Society was established for the

publication of Ancient Irish tracts with English translations, it was quickly found that none could be brought out in a satisfactory manner if O'Curry had not accomplished his great work, and been at leisure to apply it. Occasional and apt references, for illustrative purposes, to the ancient Laws, soon made it known that one Irish scholar had, at length, appeared who could translate and was familiar with them; and hence the project for their complete transcription and translation came into being, and got shape, form, and vitality. With O'Curry, Dr. O'Donovan was associated as co-editor; but, learned as he undoubtedly was, he had not had the special training possessed by his colleague, nor the assistance of any such collection as he had made. Hence it happened that, when he was over-persuaded to prove unfaithful to his Irish co-editor, and to undertake to edit a volume separately, "in conjunction" with Dr. Hancock, he could not fill up the untranslated passages. Unable to have recourse any longer to the special treasury of his colleague, he was obliged to undergo the humiliation of being counselled and prompted by amateurs; and thus it is that a volume which might and should have attained to a correctness almost perfect, has been made in parts untrustworthy and inaccurate.

THE PUBLICATION OF THE ANCIENT IRISH LAWS.—THE DELAY.

WHEN* it became known that the lost secret of the language of the ancient Irish laws, for more than two hundred years despaired of, had been regained through the intellectual skill of Eugene O'Curry, there was naturally a feeling of curiosity and interest excited among scholars. It was felt that something should be done in order that a tangible proof might be ready for those whose incredulity required a test, as well as to make manifest to all the possibility of advancing in a long forgotten path. Acting on these ideas, and desiring likewise to encourage the discoverer in his study, the Royal Irish Academy, which has done much to sustain the honour of scholarship in Ireland, set apart a sum of fifty pounds. This sum was placed at the disposal of the Council to be spent on the transcription and translation of whatever book or tract of the ancient laws it should think most suit-

* This sequel to the "Translation of the Ancient Irish Laws" has not been before published.

able. The selection was nominally left in the hands of the Rev. Drs. Todd and Graves, who had introduced the motion in a generous and enlightened spirit, and they of course took O'Curry's opinion upon the subject.

The law-tract chosen by O'Curry was that known as "The Book of Acaill," the date of which has been traced back to the third century. Its author was an Irish Charlemagne, Cormac the son of Art, who had retired from the active duties of sovereignty because he had accidentally received a wound in the eye at Tara; for no king with a personal blemish could rule in Erinn. At Acaill, whence he could see the royal hill where his son reigned in his stead, he solaced his enforced leisure with the composition of the work which bears its name. He is famous, indeed, in national annals not less for his great law reforms than for his achievements as a warrior, his chivalric virtues, and the splendour of his reign. In the Book of Ballymote, a compilation of the fourteenth century, there is an extract preserved from a more ancient compilation of the twelfth century, now ranking amongst the "lost books of Erinn," where Cormac is described when going to preside at the great parliament of Tara which he had convoked:

"The manner in which fairs and great assemblies were attended by the men of Erinn at this time was: each king wore his kingly robe upon him, and his golden helmet on his head, for they never put their kingly diadems on, but in the field of battle only.

Magnificently did Cormac come to this assembly, for no man his equal in beauty had preceded him, excepting Conairé Mōr, the son of Edersgel, or Conor, son of Cathbad, or Aengus, son of the Daghda. Splendid, indeed, was Cormac's appearance in that assembly. His hair was slightly curled and of golden colour; a scarlet shield with engraved devices with golden hooks and clasps of silver; a wide folding purple cloak on him, with a gem-set gold brooch over his breast; a gold torque around his neck; a white collared shirt embroidered with gold upon him; a girdle with golden buckles and studded with precious stones around him; two golden net-work sandals with golden buckles upon him; two spears with golden sockets and many red bronze rivets, in his hand. While he stood in the full glow of beauty without defect or blemish, you would think that it was a shower of pearls that were set in his mouth; his lips were rubies; his symmetrical body was white as snow; his eyes were like the sloe; his brows and eyelashes were like the sheen of the blue-black lance. This then was the shape and form in which Cormac went to this great assembly of the men of Erinn. And authors say that this was the noblest convocation ever held in Erinn before the Christian Faith; for the laws and enactments instituted in that meeting were those which shall prevail in Ireland for ever."*

* Lectures on the MSS. Materials of Irish History, by Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A. Professor of Irish History and Archæology in the Catholic University of Ireland. Dublin and London, Duffy.

At that great convocation, there was a complete revision of the laws and of the manner in which they had been carried into execution; a new code was promulgated, and new regulations were drawn up and adopted.

It will be seen from this that the Book of Acaill had a special interest for scholars, both on account of its royal authorship and because of its great antiquity. In all copies extant, there are found annexed to it a preface in which an account of its origin is given and a law treatise by Cennfaelad the Learned, who flourished some three centuries and a-half after Cormac's decease. Thus in the early part of the seventh century it was venerated as a treatise of great authority and antiquity. For O'Curry to prove himself able to decipher and translate this, was to show that he was able to decipher and translate all. The difficulty of such an attempt need not be insisted on. It is sufficient to state that he lived not at a period when Irish scholarship was dead, but when it had reached its highest vitality in recent times, and yet that he alone was found ready to make the endeavour, so hopeless did it appear.

In accordance with the prescribed regulations, O'Curry proceeded at once to make a transcription from the ancient manuscript in Trinity College library, to write out fully the cramped contractions of the original, and to translate in a general way the Book of Acaill. The difficulty he encountered, he overcame. Having placed the result of his labour in

the hands of the gentlemen at whose motion the Academy ordered it, they saw that he had indeed given proof of all that he had promised, and shown in the most unmistakeable manner that, for the translation of the hitherto undecipherable laws of Ancient Ireland, the hour had come and the man.

On this being made certain, O'Curry was requested to make some notes by way of a report on the condition and extent of the Brehon laws, as those laws are commonly but somewhat inaccurately termed—the word Brehon meaning simply a judge. In the summer of 1851, a correspondence was opened, in consequence, with distinguished scholars in England and on the Continent. All of them, as was to be expected, expressed in strong terms their opinion touching the importance of having laws so ancient and so characteristic published without loss of time at the public expense. Armed with these communications, and encouraged by some Irish and English noblemen, Dr. Graves printed and circulated in London a pamphlet entitled: "Suggestions with a view to the Transcription and Publication of the MSS. of the Brehon laws, now in the libraries of the British Museum, the University of Oxford, the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. London, Mackintosh, 1851." The proofs he then gave of the importance of the subject and of the interest which it had excited amongst the most eminent scholars of Europe could not be resisted.

The Government placed at the disposal of Doctors

Todd and Graves the sum of £200, in order that more precise and ample details concerning the existing copies of the laws and the nature of their contents might be obtained. In August of the same year, O'Curry, thus enabled, proceeded to Oxford, and from thence to London, returning after an absence of two months to Ireland with a complete and accurate digest of various law books and tracts to be found in the Bodleian library and the British Museum. He was immediately directed, in conjunction with Dr. John O'Donovan, a distinguished Irish scholar, to draw up an analytic catalogue of all the law manuscripts known to them, including his analyses of those in London and Oxford. This work was completed before the termination of the parliamentary session of 1852. It was therefore possible to lay a full report of their proceedings before the Lords of the Treasury, and it was of so satisfactory a character that their Lordships made a grant of £5,000 for the preparation and publication of the whole body of the ancient laws of Ireland.

A Commission, with the Very Rev. Dr. Graves, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, as Secretary, was subsequently appointed. On this Commission, the liberal members were in a minority.

Its first act in connection with the translation of the Irish laws was to offer a slight and an affront to Eugene O'Curry. Such a statement will appear incredible. It will be thought impossible that the scholar to whose intellectual achievement the very origin

of the Commission was due, could be so treated by the Commissioners, or rather by a few in their name. It is nevertheless the painful fact. By a resolution of the Commissioners, held in the Lord Chancellor's chambers, in the Four Courts, Dr. O'Donovan was appointed sole editor of the ancient Irish laws, and he, who alone and unaided had after the despair of two centuries discovered their meaning, was nominated as Dr. O'Donovan's assistant, in some general and undefined manner.

It is unnecessary to characterize such a proceeding. To the mind of any man gifted with a sense of honour, it carries with it its own condemnation. Naturally people on hearing of a slight so flagrant, and yet apparently so gratuitous, seek for some possible, even though improbable, cause. Hence, it has been asked: Was it because O'Donovan was connected as a graduate, *causâ honoris*, with Trinity College, whilst Eugene O'Curry was not? Was it because O'Curry took no care to veil his stubborn Catholicism at a time when tender consciences were affrighted by the great Papal aggression in England? But all such conjectures shoot wide of the mark. The discoverer of the language of the ancient Irish laws, was not made an editor of these Irish laws because—he did not know Greek and Latin.

This may be cited as an additional instance of the advantage of being taught the classics. There is no doubt about the fact. O'Curry, when the resolution was communicated to him by Dr. Graves, at once

refused to act under it. He declared that he neither wished to be placed above any one, nor would he submit to be placed below any one, in the editing of these laws. From the action he had taken in the matter, he could not understand why he should be made a subordinate and directed to assume the position of an assistant to one who, however erudite in other matters, had never read a page of those laws nor collected a word or phrase to explain them before. He had no objection to the appointment of any number of editors, but, whether few or many, he felt it due to himself that he should rank as one amongst them. It was then that the Secretary to the Commission lucidly pointed out to him that he was not a classical scholar, and consequently should not hope to be placed on an equality with a gentleman who had the advantage of being one.

The theory was an ingenious one, and if it were only universally admitted it would, undoubtedly, produce some curious and extraordinary results. The offspring of a Faraday's intellect should then be fathered on some graduate of Oxford, those of Franklin affiliated to a pre-adamite of Harvard, whilst Hugh Miller's original observations could be accredited to a full-fledged Bachelor of Arts of Edinburgh. If the discoverer of the language of the ancient Irish laws had only consented to father his discovery on a graduate of Trinity College, there would have been, at least, a commencement made in reducing this theory to practice.

But it was not to be. O'Curry obdurately replied that, although he was not a classical scholar, the laws were not written in Greek nor in Latin, but in old Irish which had baffled the best classical scholars of Trinity College for generations. He added also that he had given more time and attention to the study and comprehension of their language, than any or all of the men who had lived in Ireland for the last two hundred years. In fine, he refused decisively to acknowledge the superiority of claims based on some acquaintance with the classics. On his refusal to accept a subordinate's post, the Commission delayed further action; it may have been with the benevolent intention of giving him time to reconsider the Secretary's theory; or it may have been, seeing there was a military element in it, with the strategic view of compelling the enemy to a surrender—for this great scholar was poor. But we would rather believe there is nothing in this supposition. At all events nothing came of the delay, on whatever grounds made, except the surrender of the Commissioners.

At the very close of the year, they, or all that were active amongst them, held a meeting in the Secretary's chambers, Trinity College, Dr. O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry being present in attendance. At this meeting the Secretary communicated to the Commission Dr. O'Donovan's wish that the resolution which had appointed him sole editor should be rescinded, inasmuch as he felt the responsibility too great for him, and his desire that Mr. O'Curry

should be appointed co-editor: in other words that they should be appointed joint editors. This was accordingly done, and the first delay, caused by the strange theory of the Commissioners, having come to an end, preparations were at once made for the work of transcription.

The transcription of the ancient Irish laws was begun on the 3rd of March, 1853. It was carried on with earnestness and vigour in Dublin, in London, and in Oxford, until the end of September, 1855, when an accurate and intelligible copy had been made of all the requisite manuscripts. In all, O'Curry's transcripts extend to 2,906 pages, and O'Donovan's to 2,491 pages. A certain number of copies were taken of these transcripts by the anastatic process.

Next commenced the work of translation, than which nothing of a similar nature could well be conceived more onerous, more difficult, or more time-devouring. The language was terse and technical. Each word, in many places, was a definition in itself, and imperatively required an exact and authoritative rendering into another language, which had not always a corresponding term. When it is considered that the tracts to be thus treated were the compilations of different periods; that hardly a clue to the customs of the times in which they were composed remained except what should be caught up in them; that a knowledge of their dialect had likewise long perished, and had only been lately recovered—some conception may be had of the herculean task un-

dertaken. The explanatory dictionary and glosses of O'Curry (then Professor in the Catholic University), compiled with so much labour and care, served as a key to those ancient law treasures. To that comprehensive and authoritative work, O'Donovan had naturally to make frequent reference, for distinguished Irish scholar as he was, he had had no previous acquaintance with this subject. To O'Curry, self-trained by special study, the ancient phrases had put off their strangeness and presented themselves in a considerable degree with familiar aspect. In this way during five years the work of translation went on, till in 1860, as much of it had been done as to induce the Commissioners to go to press with a volume. Altogether Professor O'Curry's preliminary translation fills thirteen volumes, and that of O'Donovan twelve volumes.

Anticipating that in the succeeding year, the translation would be ready to go to press, the Commissioners in their reply to an order of the House of Commons, dated 2nd August, 1859, wrote: "Inquiries have been made in different quarters for the purpose of procuring such assistance as may be necessary in accomplishing the work, which must soon commence, of editing the laws. As yet the Commissioners have not succeeded in securing the services of an editor competent in all respects to superintend the preparation of the English text. The editor charged with this office ought to possess an extensive acquaintance with legal archæology, and

it would be desirable that he should be in close communication with the gentlemen who have been hitherto employed in the work of translation. The Commissioners will take active steps to obtain the services of a competent editor with the least possible delay."

What "active steps" the Commissioners took remain, and may perhaps for ever remain, unknown. Their feet never strayed where scholars who had given irrefragable proof of their suitableness for the position might be found. Within the limits of the official preserves they may have exhibited "active steps" enough. On a day in 1860, Dr. Graves informed Professor O'Curry and Dr. O'Donovan that the appointment was to be given that day to W. Neilson Hancock, LL.D. To say that they were astonished is little. His ability was not to be denied, but he was considered wanting in that particular fitness which some knowledge of the meaning of the Irish law-terms, whose accurate rendering he should guarantee, would have given him. It is stated in a preface to the *Senchus Mor*, published in 1865 under his care, that when the preliminary translations of Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry had been made, he was appointed "to prepare the first part of the *Senchus Mor* for publication, in conjunction with Dr. O'Donovan." Now, seeing that Professor O'Curry and Dr. O'Donovan had been appointed co-editors, this must be regarded as, at least, an inaccuracy; unless, indeed, it could be proved that the Commissioners undid be-

hind O'Curry's back what to his face they appeared to enact. If, in the appointment of Dr. Hancock, that resolution touching the joint editorship were thus revoked—if that consideration extorted for the rightful claim of the discoverer of the language of the ancient laws, before the translation, were thus withdrawn the instant he had laid open the treasury, it is well that the public should be frankly informed of it. The extract we quote would mean this, they should know, and would mean even more.

Certain it is that for some time the work of editing went on under the supervision of the three editors, but in a manner that did not appear to promise well in Professor O'Curry's eyes. The new assistant editor assumed the right to lay down a very peculiar plan of editing, and to require that his highly original scheme should be implicitly adopted. Professor O'Curry worked on, under protest, until he found that by the cumbrous and circuitous plan insisted on, delays were multiplied needlessly, and the difficulties in the way of progress made intolerable. He proposed that the plan of editing usually adopted in all like cases should be followed, and when that was refused, he found himself forced to withdraw from further co-operation. When sixty pages of translation and eight of original Irish had been printed off, the progress of the work was therefore suspended by order of the Secretary, until the translation should be wholly completed, which was expected to occur at the close of 1861.

Some time after this order, in the early part of 1861, a written proposal was laid by Dr. Hancock before Professor O'Curry, whereby he was asked to bind himself to supervise the printing of his own translations, without any co-operation from his colleague, Dr. O'Donovan. Professor O'Curry declined the proposal, pointing out that the Commissioners had appointed them joint-editors; that he had received no intimation whatever that that appointment had been revoked; that so far from alluding to any such project, the official Secretary had informed him that the printing was suspended until the translation should be completed. No more was said upon the subject. About the 1st of August, however, the Secretary advised him to procure the aid of some competent legal assistant, and to proceed separately with the printing of the Book of Acaill, already mentioned, as soon as all the translations should have been concluded, say in the December following. To this Professor O'Curry assented with reluctance. On the 10th of November, Dr. O'Donovan became ill with rheumatic fever; shortly after, Professor O'Curry, having finished his translation, and there being no fear then of a fatal termination of his colleague's sickness, addressed the Secretary again on the propriety and advantage of a joint editorship. He was, however, again advised to procure an assistant, as the Commissioners had made up their minds upon it.

Dr. O'Donovan did not regain his health. On the contrary, on the 12th of December, that ripe

and accomplished scholar passed away from earth. About a week before this sad event, Professor O'Curry became aware of the fact that Drs. Hancock and O'Donovan had been printing a volume of the ancient Laws (the *Senchus Mor*), and that about 170 pages were in type. This surprised him much, for he had understood that there would be no printing until the translations were concluded. He immediately communicated with the gentleman he had fixed upon for his colleague, when he had been advised officially to procure an assistant. He explained to him how matters stood, and that gentleman, the most competent in the kingdom for the purpose, immediately offered to give him all the assistance in his power. In a few days after, O'Donovan died. There was an end, therefore, to the progress of the work in which, apart from his colleague, he had been induced to join.

That it was surreptitious, manifest proof may be deduced from the volume itself. It is stated in the preface (p. xxxviii), that "the manuscripts of the *Senchus Mor* were translated by Dr. O'Donovan;" but this immediately follows, "some portions were translated also by Professor O'Curry; and the manuscript H. 3. 18, was translated by Professor O'Curry before Dr. O'Donovan executed his translation of it." Now at p. xxxiii, there is a description of the manuscripts H. 3. 18. They are said to contain portions relating to the *Senchus Mor*, together with a number of other tracts, now divided into two volumes octavo, and are stated by Professor O'Curry, it appears, to be made

up of various fragments of laws, glosses, poems, pedigrees, etc. chiefly written on vellum." And the author of this Preface, which is signed by Dr. Hancock, says: "the tract relating to the *Senchus Mor*, contained in the first volume of the manuscripts, was transcribed by Professor O'Curry, and is in the Commissioners' transcripts, c. 756, 892;" that is to say, the transcript alone occupies 136 pages. We are further told that "it contains the introduction, and a very copious gloss of the terms which occur in the *Senchus Mor*."

Here, then, we have definite statements. Professor O'Curry not only transcribed but he also translated the introduction to this volume, called the *Senchus Mor*. What does this mean? Its signification may be discovered on referring to the body of the work itself. Irish and English we find it to consist of 304 pages; of these that introduction, confessed to have been transcribed and translated by O'Curry, occupies 62 pages. Over one-fifth of the volume, therefore, was the work of his hands. But even this is not all; we have seen it admitted that "some portions," besides, were also translated by him. On opening the volume at the end of the introduction, and glancing at the succeeding pages, where the "Four Kinds of Distress" are set down, we find the initial of O'Curry's name on page after page, uninterruptedly, for twelve pages. Two pages of O'Donovan's work follow; then two pages and two half pages of O'Curry's succeed. His initial is likewise set opposite various important passages scattered throughout the remainder of

the work. Thus, taking as exact the statement with regard to the introduction, to Professor O'Curry must be accredited the translation of the first 74 pages continuously: that is, of the first fourth of the volume.

Yet although 170 pages had been seen in print by the Commissioners before O'Donovan's death, not one single passage had been shown to Professor O'Curry who had avowedly transcribed and translated almost one half of them. He was kept in total ignorance of the whole affair. This singular fact can be plainly inferred from the preface. We are told (p. xliii) that in the progress of the work predicted difficulties became manifest, many words and phrases had been left untranslated, and the sense of many of the passages remained obscure. Dr. O'Donovan, apparently, could not remove the difficulties, translate the untranslated words, and elucidate the obscure passages. Now as the introduction, printed first, was the work of Professor O'Curry, why was not he, the transcriber and translator, consulted? In the preface there is no hint whatever thrown out to the effect that he was consulted. On the contrary, it is stated that the legal editor, Dr. Hancock, and his assistant, noted the difficult or unsatisfactory passages, and that "for the translation, the glosses explanatory of particular terms or phrases were studied, and different parts of the laws compared," and that the proof-sheets were revised "by Professor O'Mahony" (of Trinity College) "and by myself, with such aid as could be derived from a reference to other portions of the Brehon laws, trans-

lated by Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry." Thus in editing O'Curry's work they came upon words which had been left untranslated, and passages which to them seemed difficult or obscure. They could not clear away the obstacles by their own unaided powers, and strange to say, they consulted everyone—but the translator. "On a few of the sheets observations were made by the Rev. James H. Todd, D.D. one of the Commissioners," and "the entire translation was read in proof by the Very Rev. Charles Graves, D.D. another of the Commissioners, and had the benefit of his numerous valuable suggestions." But the counsel of him who had laid open its hidden richness was not sought. Indirectly, it is indeed clear, they tried to make use of what light they might discover reflected from his translation of other portions of the Brehon laws. "My assistant, Mr. Busteed, and myself" made hard study we are told of "the glosses explanatory of particular terms and phrases," and we know that one of the manuscripts H. 3. 18, translated by Professor O'Curry, was "a very copious gloss of the terms which occur in the *Senchus Mor*." But they never went directly to him. They had his translation, they had also in the translated gloss a key furnished by him, but they lacked the master-mind and the master-hand, and could not even wield successfully the instruments he had made.

If on the mind of the most credulous there should remain a lingering belief that the work, after all this, was not surreptitious, let it fall before this extract from

the preface. "After the death of Dr. O'Donovan, the Commissioners proposed to submit the proof-sheets to Professor O'Curry, in order to have the benefit of his suggestions also, but his sudden death prevented this from being carried out." Here is an avowal that to the man who had translated at least one-fourth of the work, almost one-half of what was then in type—who had translated the copious gloss explanatory of its technical terms—the proof-sheets had never been shown! As to the statement that after Dr. O'Donovan's decease they were prevented from showing them to Professor O'Curry by his sudden death, it is a most strange one. For nearly nine months he was there present, alive and well, after the death of his colleague; yet they confess (not quite accurately, however,) that they never approached him with a proof-sheet, and plead his sudden death as the cause. The pretext will not impose on anyone.

No, these gentlemen do themselves an injustice by pretending that they could not show him his proof-sheets, because they thought him dead all those three quarters of a year when he moved amongst them, acting and speaking as though he were apparently alive. No one will believe them so simple. They ought at once to have confessed, without false modesty, that they had too high a sense of honour and too keen a perception of decency to have declared their work to his face, and asked him to be a consenting party to his own wrong. If they could be conceived for the moment forgetful of such fine feelings, he would not have been forgetful.

They were not so oblivious. But was nothing to be done? Professor O'Curry had completed his translations in November, and when, on 12th December, Dr. O'Donovan died, there was no reason why he should not go on with the editing himself. On this account, apparently, he was favoured with a visit about a month after his translations were completed—for what is a month?—by the legal editor and his assistant. They came to Professor O'Curry in the first week of the new year, with a proposition to him to join with them in printing the long-abandoned Book of Acaill. They never mentioned the *Senchus Mor*. His sudden death, it must not be forgotten, prevented them from mentioning that. Professor O'Curry immediately pointed out to them that he could not accede to their proposal, because, after he had been more than once officially directed to secure the assistance of another colleague, he had done so. That engagement he would not break.

In consequence of the alteration in their projects from the causes shown, the acting members of the Commission held a conference with Professor O'Curry in the commencement of February. Their ostensible errand was to consult as to what should be done with reference to the future printing of the ancient laws, and to know under what conditions he would undertake to edit any one or more volumes of the work. Seeing that he had already assented, at the instance of Dr. Graves, to edit the Book of Acaill, and had, on his reiterated advice, secured the assist-

ance of a colleague, this errand may appear somewhat superfluous. Professor O'Curry replied in a manner which left room for no misunderstanding. He was quite willing, quite ready, and quite prepared to edit any volume committed to his care, on his own responsibility, he said. There should be no legal editor appointed over him by the Commissioners, but he would have of course a competent legal editor to assist him. In accordance with the reiterated directions of Dr. Graves, the official secretary, he had already secured the co-operation of such a gentleman, whose name when communicated to the Commissioners would amply guarantee his qualification for the post.

It does not appear that this view of what he considered his duty, frank and straightforward as it seems, gave complete satisfaction. In spite of what has been alleged touching his sudden death, he was shown the printed portion of the *Senchus Mor*, perhaps in the expectation that he would take it up, and proceed with it. He, however, contented himself with pointing out grave errors in the translation, and expressing his intention to persevere in his appointed task. Officialism has a tendency to think itself omnipotent within its own sphere, and to fancy that its desires should be obeyed without demur, as those of an over-ruling destiny. Undoubtedly it is because of this pervading spirit of officialism obtaining the mastery over individual feelings, that corporations will commit acts to which their

members would personally and separately object. On such a theory only can we account for the manner in which the discoverer of the ancient laws of Ireland was treated by a Commission, composed without a doubt of gentlemen honourable and estimable in their individual capacities. To O'Curry alone it was due that, after two hundred years of unavailing effort, it became possible for such a body to be formed, to preside over the transcription and translation of those laws. As the price of incessant labour, and the reward of innumerable vigils, he had alone and unaided discovered the way and the key to their long-forgotten treasures. Yet, so did the spirit of officialism prevail over personal sentiments of justice and courtesy, he was subjected to a gratuitous slight in the outset, and in the end vexed with contradictory projects, and doomed to see the cherished hope of life become a mortal pain, because he could not stoop to what he deemed unworthy.

IRISH TRANQUILLITY AND BRITISH CAPITAL.

"NOTHING is wanted," said Lord Stanley, speaking of Ireland, at Bristol, "except a little peace and security, for uncounted millions of British capital to pour into that country as English wealth has poured into Scotland, and as it continues every day to pour into the colonies that are separated from us by the breadth of the globe." To prove that this enthusiastic prediction has some solid ground to rest upon, Lord Stanley gives no reasons. The assertion is made, and men are left to accept it on the simple authority of the speaker. If, indeed, he had already approved himself a true oracle, that might stand for a reason; but his foresight on other questions has not been such as to inspire confidence in his prophetical utterances on this. To give his statement weight with reasoning men, he ought to have shown that Ireland, as a place of investment for capital, was similarly circumstanced with Scotland and the other colonies he spoke of, and that in times of tranquillity in Ireland "uncounted millions" of

British capital actually had poured into that country. The trick he has attempted to play off, however, is not a new one. Whenever Ireland has become restless under the irritation of some burden laid upon the great body of the nation for the sole advantage of a small minority, some Conservative statesman has been sure to step on to the stage with his magic mirror, and flash a glitter of British gold before the eyes of the Irish. "Only do not press for a removal of Catholic disabilities," they have been told, "and you shall get untold mines of British capital; only do not urge that landlordism should be deprived of a right to confiscate tenants' improvements, and hoards of this wealth shall be turned in amongst you; only empty your purses willingly to endow the Establishment and its satellites, and the land shall be flooded with gold from across the Channel; only contribute largely and heartily to the comforts and endowments of half a million of your countrymen, and you, the other four or five millions, shall have a swarm of British capitalists delivered up to you, whom you may deal with as children deal with bees when they catch them in the fields and extract their honey bags!" It is impossible to conceive a pretence of statesmanship more pitiable, more dishonest, or more demoralizing than this. To tempt men by a prospective bribe to submit to wrongs is not only insulting to those to whom the bribe is offered, but also degrading to those who offer it; and the breach of integrity is manifest when men are content to trade upon a promise which they have no power to realize or guarantee.

It is not by teaching people to stand agape for the alms of their neighbours that they can be made self-reliant and enterprising. A minority in Ireland has been tutored to be dependent on the labours of the majority; and, instead of helping them to unlearn the vicious lesson, we are now asked to proceed with it, and henceforth to tutor the Irish majority to become dependents upon British capitalists. The policy is a miserable one anyhow, and would be a wicked one if it had within it the elements of success. But British capital is not the creature of Conservative statesmanship, nor are British capitalists in the least likely to put themselves in the way of being taxed for Conservative endowments in order to supplement defective legislation.

It is scarcely possible to imagine that such an idea as that of the influx of British capital into Ireland on Lord Stanley's conditions could be seriously entertained by any one conversant with Irish history and economic laws. If Conservatives can accept it, their minds must be quite differently fashioned from the minds of other classes of cultivated human beings. For there have been considerable intervals of tranquillity, or what Lord Stanley would call "peace and security," in Ireland. The same cry about British capital being kept away from Ireland by agitation was heard during O'Connell's lifetime; and yet, from 1848 to 1864 or 1865 there was a long and almost uninterrupted period of apparent apathy. Why is it not shown that during this period, than which we can hardly expect any more

peaceful, untold millions of British capital did flow into Ireland? Either the fact was so, or it was not. If it had been so, Lord Stanley would not now have to appear in the guise of a prophet; but since it has not been so his argument is self-refuted.

He seems to fancy that merely political considerations will avail to direct the tide of capital to this part of the Empire or to that part of it irrespective of other circumstances. Above all, apathy in the presence of admitted wrongs is the sure basis for commercial progress in his eyes. He appears totally unaware that even during the disturbances of last year in the south of Ireland, existing manufactures were extended, and new ones established, in places which were far from being regarded as the most tranquil. But he has not allowed us to see in what way he expects that more capital would be laid out in Ireland. Indeed, he has omitted to show that the country really stands in need of English wealth.

Is the British capitalist to start new factories, and drive the native manufacturer out of the market? Is he to take farms over the heads of the native tenants, and enlarge his enterprise by driving some of these out of the country and ruining others? It is not easy to see how this would minister to the content of the most peaceable community of Irishmen. But perhaps the British capitalist is to be invited to transform the bogs and mountain-sides, and ruin himself for the greater honour of Conservative statesmen. The kind of capital required to reclaim Irish waste lands

has not been wanting in Ireland. A century ago, Arthur Young travelling in that country met with a case in point. Sir William Osborne, he relates, was then owner of property in Tipperary. This gentleman at a time when Whiteboyism was rife, "met with a manly-looking fellow of forty, followed by a wife and six children who begged." He rebuked them for their mendicancy, but the man replied they could get no work. "Follow me," said Sir William, "and I will give you some." "He gave him five acres of a heathy mountain," says Young, "built him a cabin, and lent him £4 to stock his ground." With what result? "The fellow flourished, he went on gradually, repaid the £4, and presently became a happy cottier." And when Young, twelve years after the meeting mentioned, wrote his report, it was in these terms: "He has now twelve acres under cultivation, and a stock in trade worth at least £80." At the very last Parliamentary enquiry into the Irish Land Question, Bishop Keane, of Cloyne, related an instance almost identical: "The second case," he said, "is the case of a man who took a farm of land on condition of improving it. The landlord said: 'I will give you that side of the hill on condition that you improve it.' I pass by that place four or six times every year regularly, and I see there crops where formerly there was nothing but barrenness. The man got the farm on condition of improving it. He was a poor man, with no capital except his strong arms, stout heart, and willing mind, and the result is that he has beautiful

crops now where there was nothing but barrenness and sterility before." Lord Stanley ought to understand that whilst it might be praiseworthy and profitable for an Irish capitalist of this kind to carry out such improvements as these, it might be neither one nor the other for an English capitalist with the choice of other investments, which would probably bring larger and readier returns, and from which he could extricate himself more easily, if needful.

There have been two or three instances in which it has been announced with a flourish of trumpets that English capital had landed in Ireland. One of these was the Atlantic Steam-packet Company, and the others were like it in character and consequences. It is needless to say that the results have not been such as to make the Irish so enthusiastic in the matter as Lord Stanley seems to be.

In fact, the cry for English capital does not come from them; it is rarely heard in Ireland except when some Conservative organ raises it in the approved fashion, and with the purpose of silencing or discrediting some movement which threatens to imperil the endowments of the party. When the voice of the majority in Ireland is heard with reference to capital, it is almost certain to be Irish capital that is spoken of. The claim made is that this Irish capital should be retained and employed at home to develop the resources of the country, and that the restrictions which impede its application to profitable work, and cause it to lie idly in banks or hiding places, should

be abolished. This is the demand which should most commend itself to every man of heart and judgment.

The men who make it do not ask to be pensioners or dependents on English capital, which they are perfectly aware will flow nowhere on mere philanthropic grounds. But, while they do not require this, they do require that an army of some half million of pensioners shall not be quartered upon their resources. It will not pacify them in the least to tell them that this half million has, by being so quartered, become "socially powerful;" they are already aware of the fact and of its cause. But Irish capital just as much as English capital requires "peace and security;" and it is silly to suppose either peace or security can coexist with the anomalous institutions of Ireland.*

Does Lord Stanley imagine that there is no such thing as Irish capital—even in the narrow sense in which he uses the word capital? He should know better. In 1866 there was £1,540,578 laid up in the savings banks, and the aggregate amount of the private balances in the Bank of Ireland and of the deposits in the several joint-stock banks in Ireland, on the 30th of June, 1867, stood at £19,211,242. Indeed, the considerable sums of Irish money stored up in banks have been so often referred to in Viceregal discourses that it seems impossible for any to be ignorant of the fact. When they are thus instanced, the public is required to believe that here a proof is

* What follows has been added for the present work.

given of Irish progress and prosperity. But whilst there is evidence of the presence of that capital which Lord Stanley ignores, we fail to discern a proof of commercial activity in the mere fact that money is largely deposited in banks. Some of these banks are, in fact, only conduits through which Irish capital is drawn out of the Irish metropolis and provinces to float non-Irish enterprises. Irish absentees admittedly compel a considerable drain of gold out of Ireland; but, undoubtedly, it must be a surprise to Lord Stanley to discover that Irish capital can thus be made an absentee, and that it is an ingredient in that "British capital" which he promises shall flow into Ireland, if only Ireland becomes politically torpid. The Irish may conceivably imagine that they have as much power over their own capital as an English Conservative statesman.

There are some Irish banks which are not conduits for exhausting the country of its wealth. They have hitherto almost exclusively been limited to the province of Ulster, but the southern province has of late established one on the principle which has aided the north so much to develop its productive powers. No cry has gone out from Ulster for British capital. The presence of Irish capital is manifested in the fact that tenants sometimes purchase out the tenant-interest in farms subject to a fair rent, at a rate that would buy the fee simple of a property in the Incumbered Estates Court. Thus, the writer is aware of cases in which twenty-five and even twenty-eight years pur-

chase-money was given to the out-going tenant by the in-coming tenant for his "interest" in a small farm, the rent of which was by no means unduly light, and which the new tenant would have to pay as well as the old. The money for such purchases may sometimes be borrowed in part from usurers, as has been objected; the facilities granted by the provincial banks, however, are calculated to do away with the necessity for having recourse to individuals. In the cases mentioned, and no doubt in a multitude of cases where large sums are thus given at auctions of the "tenant-right," the small farmers had saved through strict frugality a certain amount of money. What were they to do with it? By allowing it to remain in the banks, though it might help the compiler of official statistics, it would only bring them in a miserable per centage. To become the possessor of more land, even at a seemingly incredible price, offers a better investment than that at least, and so it is seized. Hence the competition for land. Hence it is not so much that Ireland is deficient in capital, as that she lacks varied and available means of investment.

Is it for want of capital that Ireland does not abound in manufactures, as we are asked to believe? Surely Lord Stanley cannot intend to proclaim a fact so humiliating to British statesmanship, as that the Ireland of to-day is in a comparatively worse state than the Ireland of 170 years ago? Then the House of Lords, in an address to King William III., used language to this effect: "Wherefore we most humbly

beseech your sacred majesty that your majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ireland that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long been, and will be ever, looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom, and if not timely remedied may occasion very strict laws totally to prohibit it, and suppress the same." At that time, therefore, Ireland could originate and maintain manufactures, and certainly it would be difficult to find an excuse for blaming Irish agitation as the cause of their ruin, since this king in reply promised to do all in his power to discourage the Irish woollen manufacture, and the English parliament prohibited the export of Irish woollens.

Irish manufactures revived again and flourished, not on account of any inflow of British capital or any cessation of Irish agitation. On the contrary, let us see how matters stood during and after a period of great political turmoil, in 1785, when, however, the restrictions upon exportation had been abolished on account of that very determined agitation. In a British official report* of that year, there is much instructive matter, evidently collected with great care.

* "Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations upon the Two Questions referred to them by his Majesty's Order in Council, of the 14th January last, *viz.*: I.—Upon the PROPRIETY of reducing the duties payable in *Great Britain* on the Importation of Goods, the Growth and Manufacture of Ireland, to the same Rate as the Duties payable in *Ireland* on the Importation of the like

Many witnesses were examined. Under the head of "Woollens," we find that the deputation which represented the manufacturers of Norwich were asked, "Have you found, since the Irish ports have been opened for the exportation of their woollen and worsted manufactures, that they have rivalled you in the foreign markets." They replied, "Not to our knowledge, except in Portugal, and there not to any considerable degree that we know of." Mr. Everett, of London, describing himself as a factor or warehouseman principally concerned in the exportation of woollens to Ireland and foreign countries, gave evidence that the export of woollens to Ireland had "decreased, in fine cloths considerably, owing to their non-importation agreement. Before that agreement I exported thither to the amount of £30,000 per annum, since that not to the amount of £5,000 a year." He believed that since that they had been supplying themselves from their old stock of English cloth and from their own manufacture, and had yet no large manufactories of fine cloths. "I always understood their principal manufactures to be in coarse cloths, they had, however, of late imported some Spanish wool." The merchants and manufacturers of Leeds and Saddleworth

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Goods, the Growth and Manufacture of *Great Britain*. II.—What PREFERENCES are now given to the Importation of any Article, the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture of *Ireland*, by any duty or prohibition on the Importation, Use, or Sale of the like Article from foreign parts; and how far it may be the interest of *Great Britain* in future to continue or alter the same. Dublin: (re-) Printed for L. White, P. Byrne, MDCCLXXXV."

testified that the exports of their woollen and worsted cloths into Ireland had "rather diminished of late, but not considerably;" they had been informed that the Irish manufactures "had increased of late in shalloons and durants." In reply to the question whether the Irish manufactures of the like sort had interfered with theirs in the foreign markets, they said, "We believe not in the fine goods. We understand they have sent some of their coarse stuffs to America; but we have not perceived that our trade has on that account diminished." The deputation from Halifax gave evidence of nearly the same effect. Mr. Ainstie, speaking for the Wiltshire manufacturers, stated that at the Devizes and in the neighbourhood superfine cloths and cashmeres were the principal manufactures, but besides these they made second cloths, serges, beavers, &c. and fancy manufactures. The finer sorts were made entirely of Spanish wool. Their export into Ireland had diminished so much as to amount to a cessation; this he imputed to the non-importation agreement. He believed the Irish had supplied themselves from the stock in hand, but mentioned that they had "a considerable manufacture near Dublin, which, however, cannot nearly supply enough for the demand." In replying to the question, whether the quality of the Irish superfine cloths was equal to the English, he said, "I cannot speak with certainty, but I do not think them equal in fine cloths; in ratteens I give them the preference." He was then asked, if the Irish were

allowed to import into England their woollen cloths, subject to the same duties at which British cloths of the like sorts were imported into Ireland, would he apprehend a competition in the market of Great Britain? He replied, "With respect to the superfine manufactures I should think the advantage decidedly in favour of England; but in the manufacture for which the Irish wool is fit, there might be a danger arising from the cheapness of labour in Ireland."

The Committee say they thought it right to enquire what had been the export of woollen manufactures from Ireland previous to the prohibition which took place in 1699. They found that in 1698, Ireland had exported of what was technically known as old drapery (that is broad and narrow cloths and all kinds known as pressed goods) 1½ pieces to England, 29½ to Scotland, and 250½ elsewhere. The piece was of 27 yards, and as she had imported 11,784½ yards, she had therefore taken in 4,187 yards more than she had sent out. But with respect to new drapery (coarse cloths and worsted stuffs not pressed) it was the reverse. Ireland imported of this 21,294½ yards but exported of

Articles.	To England.	To Scotland	Elsewhere.
	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
New Drapery ...	601	2,128	20,566½
Frize	127,601	1,355	537,945

Eighty years after the prohibitive enactment against the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures, we see

them reviving. From 1780 till 1783, during which the agitation for the Independence of the Irish parliament prevailed, we find that the export of Irish old drapery rose from 494 to 40,589 yards; whilst that of new drapery increased from 8,652 to 538,061 yards. The Committee state that the Irish accounts showed that the export of new drapery to America had increased from 125,286 yards in 1783, to 259,141 yards in 1784; of old drapery, from 24,588 to 28,450 yards; of flannels from 5,609 to 36,067 yards, of frize from 784 to 2,738 yards. "The increase in the export of the woollen manufactures from Ireland," they add, "has not been confined to British North America and the United States only, but has been equally considerable to other foreign markets." All this increase in one year! *

* As it might be objected that much of this increase was due to re-exports, it seems best to quote the Committee's tabular statements for the four previous years, when the remarkable annual progress of Irish exports in old and new drapery will be seen at a glance.

"An Account of Woollen Goods of the Manufacture of *Ireland* exported from thence, the 25th of *March*, 1779, to the 25th of *March*, 1783.

Years ending 25th March.	Drapery, New.	Drapery, Old.	Flannel.	Frize.
	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.	Yards.
1780	8,653	494	230	——
1781	286,859	3,740	27,049	1,779
1782	336,607½	4,633	8,641	800
1783	538,061	40,589	11,416	784"

In the year following the export of frize reached 2,738 yards, and

Comparing 1783 with 1784, English exports to Ireland fell from 373,053 yards of old drapery to 354,139; and from 420,415 yards of new drapery to 323,217. "By the diminution of the imports of new drapery from England in 1784," they say, "compared with the great export of that article to America and to foreign countries in the same year, it appears probable that the Irish manufacture of woollens, under the description of new drapery, is increasing considerably." There cannot be a doubt of the correctness of the inference.

Under the head of "cottons," some noteworthy and pertinent information may likewise be obtained. The deputation from Manchester testified that the trade to Ireland in fustians had very greatly decreased, scarcely an order could be obtained, whilst the exportation of printed cottons and calicoes had fallen from what it was in 1783, to about one-tenth of it the year after. "We impute the decline of fustians," said the manufacturers, "to the quantity the Irish now manufacture for themselves; and this must be so, because there was a considerable reduction in trade to ports of the North of Ireland where the non-importation agreement had not taken place, as well as to the port of Dublin where it existed in full force." The cotton-printers said, "with respect to the printing manufacture, we likewise

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the Irish accounts say this export was "to America"; the Committee, however, "apprehend that the United States are included in this, as well as the remaining British possessions." It is also requisite to observe that previous to 1781 there had been considerable smuggling.

impute the decline of that trade to the increase of the Irish manufactures of cottons and calicoes." The manufacturers stated that the Irish had no advantage in supplying themselves with cotton wool, save upon a direct importation in freight and insurance, but that they had a very material advantage, with regard to fustians, in the matter of linen yarn the growth and manufacture of Ireland, which was used as the warp of all lower-priced and many middle-priced fustians. The manufacturers further added that if England and Ireland were put upon equal terms with respect to duties and bounties upon their cotton manufactures, they apprehended the Irish manufacturers would have the advantage and might in time supply the English market. They would, however, be satisfied with a tax of ten and a-half per cent. upon the importation of cotton goods from Ireland!

The Committee observe that the exportation of Irish fustians to America had increased from 1,108 yards in 1781, to 47,237 yards in 1784; and that the exportation of cotton and mixed goods had increased from £145 worth in 1781, to £8,319 worth in 1784. The exports to "foreign parts" were increasing likewise. Only 5,771 yards of coloured linen, they add, were sent out in 1780; whilst in 1783 not less than 119,628 yards were exported, of which 80,253 went to the United States.

Under the head of "silk," the same tale is told. The export to Ireland had in general very much diminished, particularly in plain and rich goods. The

non-importation compact had proved injurious, but besides that, "the Irish have about fifteen hundred silk-manufacturers in Dublin," and their manufacture was increasing. If the duties were equalized, they said, "we think the English manufacturer would have great reason to apprehend the competition, as the raw material is cheaper to the Irish. . . . We apprehend there would be reason to fear it, even in the British market." It is somewhat curious that even in ironware there was a diminution, owing to the fact, it was testified, that "the Irish manufacture a great deal more themselves and have it in their power, from the small duty on iron imported into Ireland, to manufacture it cheaper. They have established lately at Lucan very considerable mills for rolling and slitting, as well as forges; there are other mills in the neighbourhood of Dublin. They appear at present to be giving great encouragement to their iron manufactures." The exportation of porter into Ireland had but little diminished. In the item of pottery Mr. Wedgwood stated that the Irish had most of the materials for making pottery, and he apprehended that if Irish potteries should once be established to any extent it was probable they might invent something new, and send their earthenware even into the English market. There was reason to believe that an attempt would be soon made in Dublin to establish a pottery, "especially as they have been so successful in rivalling this country in manufacturing glass, having now nine flourishing glass houses."

No soap or candles were, it appears, exported to

Ireland, but great quantities were smuggled from it to England and Wales. In reply to the question, "has the trade from hence in candles and soap to North America and the West Indies increased of late or diminished?" the manufacturers said: "It has certainly very much decreased, since the compact in 1778, in both articles. We impute this decrease to the possession the Irish have now got of that trade—we export but very few candles now to the West Indies."

It cannot be said that the Irish manufactures thus increased because of unfair or unequal duties being laid upon articles of English manufacture. John Lord Sheffield in a pamphlet,* in which he takes to task parties in both Ireland and England, points out to the British manufacturer that the duty on woollens imported from Ireland to Britain amounts to a prohibition, and yet "Ireland has laid duties equal to a prohibition in favour of England, on draperies from all other countries. They are also in favour of her own woollen manufacture." The object of his work was to combat a protectionist project in Ireland, and to prove to the English that it was "the interest of the British manufacturer that the duties should be equalized rather by lowering them here than by raising them in Ireland." He then gives this "schedule of duties on the undermentioned articles in both countries."

* "Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and present State of Ireland, by John Lord Sheffield. Dublin.—Printed by J. Exshaw, MDCCLXXXV."

Articles.	Import Duties payable in Britain.			Ireland.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
All woollens or old drapery, per yard	2	0	$6\frac{4}{10}$	0	0	$5\frac{19}{20}$
Stuffs of all kinds, made or mixed with wool, or new drapery, per yard	0	5	$11\frac{19}{20}$	0	0	$1\frac{13}{20}$
Cotton-and-linen manufactures, and cotton mixed, for every £100 value on oath	29	15	10	9	18	$5\frac{8}{10}$
Linen-cloth, printed, for every £100 value on oath	65	10	10	9	18	$5\frac{8}{10}$
Leather manufactures, for every £100 value on oath	65	10	10	9	18	$5\frac{8}{10}$
Checks, the piece not above 10 yards	0	3	$11\frac{13}{20}$	0	1	$3\frac{17}{20}$
Besides in Britain for every £100 value on oath	35	15	0	0	0	0
Sugar, refined, per cwt.	5	6	$9\frac{18}{20}$	1	13	$11\frac{15}{20}$
Starch, per cwt.	4	12	$1\frac{17}{20}$	0	6	$5\frac{13}{20}$

"Many other instances might be added," he says, "not less remarkable; and Ireland does not a little complain of the want of reciprocity on the subject of malt, beer, etc." It is thus evident that whilst in self-defence the Irish might have raised their duties on articles of English produce to an equality with those exacted from their own, they contented themselves with a non-importation agreement in Dublin, and with giving bounties to encourage their own manufactures.

In view of these remarkable facts, is it likely that the Irish will believe in any teacher who tells them to become political lotus-eaters, and wait idly expectant for uncounted millions of British capital to flow in upon them?

The voluntary non-importation agreement, limited as it was, cannot be supposed to have been at all an

effectual counterpoise to English prohibitory duties. As to bounties, they were given in self-defence. Lord Sheffield observes that "It is now well known among commercial nations that manufactures, forced and supported by bounties and prohibitions, cannot long thrive, and are not only a loss to the community, in proportion to their expense, but are further pernicious by tempting away hands from thriving manufactures." But although he advanced this argument against the views of those who advocated protection in Ireland, he did not fail to point out that England had adopted the course he condemned, even with respect to bounties. "Ireland complains," he said, "of the bounty given by Great Britain on the export of sail-cloth to Ireland; she finds it extremely hurtful to her fabric, and complains with double force as it is a branch of her linen manufacture"—which the English legislature had promised to foster, when the Irish woollen manufacture should be discouraged. "She will be justifiable in counteracting, by duties or regulations, *all* bounties given on export to Ireland, where she has similar manufactures: but the British act adds to the bounties now given, as much more as at any time Ireland shall impose as a duty on the import of British sail-cloth into Ireland. The mode of contest may become ridiculous."

The linen trade, not clashing with any British manufacture, was to be encouraged in Ireland, as a counterpoise to the prohibition of the Irish woollen trade. This cannot be regarded as a favour, nor even

a just and exact counterpoise, seeing that there was no British linen trade prohibited to make way for it. Flax was cultivated and manufactured among the native Irish from of old. The linen-trade was mentioned as one of the principal branches of Irish manufacture in 1542 (33, Henry VIII.). Irishmen, according to an act of Elizabeth, had been exporters of linen for more than one hundred years. Lord Strafford addressing the King, 15th July, 1636, wrote that there was some beginnings towards a clothing trade, which he would discourage all he could, lest it should trench on the staple commodity of England, cause loss to the customs, and, "it might be feared, they might beat us out of the trade itself, by underselling us, which they were able to do." He promised on the other hand to encourage the linen-trade in Ireland, and did import flax-seed from Holland and workmen from the Netherlands. The Duke of Ormond, in the reign of Charles II, followed the same policy. He sent Irishmen to Flanders to be taught, got acts passed to induce Protestant operatives to settle in Ireland, and imported five hundred Brabant families. The English parliament, in the reign of William III., and that King himself, therefore, only acted on old precedent when they determined to discourage the Irish woollen manufacture, and "to encourage the linen manufacture there, and to promote the trade of England."

The theory was that England should have a monopoly of the woollen trade, and Ireland a monopoly of

the linen trade, which, in itself, was not an unfair theory, though founded on false economic principles. It became unjust in practice, because there was no English linen trade then prohibited as a balance to the prohibition of the Irish woollen trade; and because, in order "to promote the trade of England," a bounty was given on the exportation to foreign countries of Irish linens from English ports. This tended to the advantage of the English manufacturer, and to deprive Irish vessels of the carrying trade, as Irish linens were admitted free of all duties into England, to encourage the Irish manufacture.

This manufacture, however, prospered sufficiently. "Those who examine with a jealous eye," said Lord Sheffield, "the advantages resulting to Great Britain from her supplying Ireland with certain articles, should observe the prodigious quantity of linen with which Ireland supplies Great Britain; the value of which, in the year ending 25th of March, 1782, exceeded all the imports into Ireland of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Great Britain. It amounted to 24,692,072 yards, value £1,646,138 2s. 8d. Irish money,* besides linen yarn to the amount of £169,126 10s. In the same year all the imports into

* Lord Sheffield frankly adds in a note: "The author inadvertently took the year of the greatest export, but the average of four years, ending 25th March, 1778, and previous to the exports of Ireland being hurt by her non-importation agreements (which they were), was in value £1,455,990 7s. 5½d.," which is a little under the mark—£1,455,996 11s. 5½d., being the correct average.

Ireland, of the produce and manufacture of Great Britain, amounted to £1,486,317 2s. 4d., and it happened to be the year of the greatest import." In the same year Ireland's exports to the rest of the world stood at 278,231 yards, and 113,655¼ yards of coloured linens. Thus her total linen exports reached 25,083,958¼ yards. The linen manufacture was not over-petted in what encouragement it received. Not until 1705 was Ireland allowed* to export her white and brown linens to the colonies; and in six years after a law† was passed which acted as a restriction on the exportation of printed, chequered, and striped linens. "There is a bounty of ½d. per yard, that is, a premium of upwards of 1½d. on the pound of yarn, in favour of the manufacturer in Britain over the manufacturer in Ireland, from which bounty the Irish cheques, stripes, or printed linens, &c. were totally excluded, their importation into Britain being prohibited." This was the report of the trustees of the linen manufacture to the Irish House of Commons in 1771. In the British official report of the Lords of Committee of Council (1785), we find this corroboration. In the "account of such articles, the produce or manufactures of Ireland, as are favoured in the duties on importation from thence," these items appear. Admitted free, "Hemp and flax and all manufactures thereof, made in Ireland and imported directly from thence, *except* such canvas or sail-cloth on which the

* 3 and 4 Anne, ch. 8. † 10 Anne, ch. 19.

bounties respectively have been allowed on exportation from thence; and also except cambricks or lawns, so long as French cambricks or lawns are permitted to be imported into Ireland; likewise printed linen." "And if any linens are printed, stained, or dyed, a further duty for every £100, according to the true value and price here in London, without any abatement for duties, is payable from all places, £33." Ireland is included in this prohibition by name. Yet, taking one item alone, that of the prohibited cambric, we find a writer on Irish trade and manufactures * saying: "the cambrick manufacture has increased greatly of late years, yet it falls far short of supplying our home consumption in the article of clear cambricks; yet I have been told that there are upwards of one thousand five hundred looms now at work in the north of Ireland." Elsewhere in a note, written later, he computes that there were 2,000 looms employed in Ireland. "The cambrick company," he continues "has great merit with the public, for they at great expense and attention to the encouragement of that business, brought over from Flanders

* "Observations on the Trade and Manufactures of Ireland and the Means to encourage, improve, and extend them; with some Reasons why GREAT BRITAIN should be more indulgent to IRELAND in particular Points of Trade. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Legislature of IRELAND. The Sixth Edition. To which is added Notes and an Appendix, containing some material Transactions that have occurred since the Publication of the former Edition, 1769. With Observations upon them, and the several Acts of Parliament passed since. Dublin: T. T. Faulkner, 1783."

a great many manufacturers whom they employed at Dundalk, by which that manufacture has greatly spread over all that side of the country; and now private persons can carry on that trade more extensively and to greater advantage than the company. But this is entirely owing to the enlight and encouragement given by them, who, notwithstanding the bounty given by Parliament, suffered greatly in their private fortunes, and were almost broken by the expence they were at, and the losses they sustained for many years for want of knowledge in the manufacture, and the proper method of disposing of the cambrick." The duty on foreign cambric brought in about £7,000, three-sixths of which went to the hereditary revenue, two-sixths to encourage the linen manufacture, and one-sixth as a bounty for the manufacture of cambric. The prohibition of foreign cambrics is referred to in the sixth edition of this writer's "Observations," as having swept away this source of encouragement. He has shown, however, that there was sufficient public spirit amongst the Irish to impel them to form companies and bear great losses to promote the manufacture, and sufficient private enterprise and capital to enable them to continue and develop it.

Thus Irish manufactures increased and prospered, not only without undue encouragement, but in spite of rival bounties, and the discouraging and prohibitory duties imposed by British regulations on Irish imports into Britain; in spite of the sequel to the Navigation Act, whereby Ireland was obliged to take colonial pro-

ducts through English ports, and forbidden to trade direct for them; in spite of foreign arrangements, like the Methuen treaty, by which the ports of Portugal were opened to English cloths but closed against those of Ireland. Irish woollens that had been shipped to Lisbon were seized, and when Ireland, through her Parliament, protested, and demanded equal liberty, "the court of Lisbon, earnest to testify its esteem and attachment towards Ireland, proposed that a negotiation might be entered into for the purpose. To the surprise of the court, the then British minister absolutely and peremptorily refused to enter into a negotiation so indispensibly requisite to the good of that country." *

Nothing of all the progress made can be credited to any influx of British capital. On the contrary, those invidious measures were enacted in part to guard against any such danger, since the same feeling always existed which had caused the House of Lords in its address to William III. to urge that active prohibitory measures should be taken, because "the growing manufactures of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of the necessaries of life and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloths, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants to settle there, to the increase of the woollen

* "A full Refutation of the several Charges against PORTUGAL with respect to IRELAND. Originally written in the Portuguese by a Gentleman of Distinction at LISBON, and faithfully translated from that Language. Dublin: A. FOX, MDCCLXXXIII."

manufactures in Ireland; which makes your loyal subjects in England very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here, by which the trade of this nation, and the value of lands will greatly decrease, and the number of your people be much lessened here." The feeling was so strong that it had to be combated with every effort to obtain a relaxation of the crippling commercial regulations. Thus in 1784, on the occasion of the "commercial resolutions" passed by the Irish Parliament, Irish advocates of free trade had, among other things, to reply to the objection that "British merchants will transport themselves and their capital into Ireland."* In the answer it was asked: "Why is not this supposition verified by some instances now to be produced? They certainly will not send their capitals and stay themselves behind, trusting to the management of others." Lord Stanley, it will be seen, has had prototypes, but, although they regard the subject from different points of view, neither their nor his anticipations, fears, or hopes, have moved the Irish to yield them faith.

Fully as brilliant a picture of Ireland's commercial future was painted by Lord Sheffield to deter England from assenting to grant Ireland free trade, as Lord Stanley now paints to deter Ireland from seek-

* "The Commercial Resolutions of the Irish Parliament in their present Session (1784) vindicated. Abstract of a Letter from a Member of the British House of Commons to a Member of the Irish House, with the Reply. Dublin, L. White and P. Byrne, MDCCLXXXV."

ing for civil and religious liberty. In 1785 as in 1868, British capital was called into use as an argument for an object essentially identical. Eighty-three years have apparently completed a Conservative cycle. "England," said Lord Sheffield, "cannot, without being regardless of her essential interests, promote still further the export of colonial articles from Ireland, and encourage the Irish, or rather the British merchants, who would gradually remove their capital, to speculate largely to her disadvantage. . . . If Ireland could become the entrepot in a considerable degree for Europe, which would naturally happen if allowed by Great Britain, she would get possession of those articles and those advantages which would supply capital. She would have the capitals and credits of other countries to surpass the mother country, and as there would then be no difficulty in importing into this country from Ireland, whenever the market suited, the merchants of Britain would be encouraged to avail themselves of the peculiar situation of Ireland to carry on the whole of their re-export trade through that country; and they would find means of supplying three-fourths, perhaps, of their cargoes from thence. They would fix houses in Ireland, transmit capitals, and by degrees migrate thither themselves. The tobacco trade would infallibly settle in Ireland. The towns that have the re-export trade in Great Britain will loudly complain; and Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol, &c. will foresee and feel the approaching loss of their present local and other advantages. Such are the specu-

lations of Ireland in forming the present requisitions." The requisitions on which Lord Sheffield builds such a superstructure, he describes elsewhere in the words: "Ireland desires that the construction of the navigation laws may be altered, so as to admit colonial and foreign commodities from her warehouses into Great Britain, in like manner as they pass from thence to Ireland." In opposition to that request for commercial equality, which seems as fair and equitable as the requirement of to-day for religious equality, Lord Sheffield writes: "Her object is to become the mart in Europe for the trade of America, for which she is so well suited by her western situation, immediately open to the ocean, and accessible almost with every wind—her vessels often crossing the Atlantic in a shorter time than the shipping of London require to clear the Channel. In addition her ships can be victualled infinitely cheaper; and every necessary of life being low, as well as public taxes, the general charge of conducting trade will be proportionably less. In considering this matter we should look forward to the time when Ireland shall have attained a much more significant commercial situation than her present, and be able to trade on as a good a footing to the western world as England. She would, from her situation and advantages, supply Great Britain with American produce—the gain of Ireland from such a measure can result only from the loss of Great Britain." He concludes his plea for the preservation of prohibition and monopoly in this matter, in terms which might

have been stereotyped and yet could not be more exact representatives of those which many reactionists now employ: "The people of Great Britain think that Ireland is in the habit of making successful requisitions, and that Great Britain is in the habit of inconsiderate concessions. The feeble administrations of England, to avoid the mere difficulty of the day, are fond of expedients. The country has reason to be tired of them; it is time she should support herself; and there is not only more dignity but policy in firmness."

In a better spirit than Lord Stanley's, Mr. Eden wished for the development of commercial progress in Ireland, but he saw and frankly avowed that redress of grievances should have precedence. His affections were not twined round the monoply; he had no anxiety to prevent the establishment of equal rights; Ireland, he declared, was not only not an object to be feared by any nation, but, "she neither has nor will have her due importance in the great scale of the globe, till she can be induced to think herself secure in quitting politics, and pursuing commerce; it is my object and wish to forward for her that happy and important moment." (22nd January, 1783.)

Like those pioneers who, of necessity, must take musket as well plough and scythe when they go to till and reap, Ireland has been driven to employ political agitation to secure a commercial harvest. As well bid the pioneer in the prairie to lay aside his rifle, as say that the Irish should have abandoned politics for com-

merce. A glance at the conditions under which commercially she was obliged for centuries to exist, will amply prove this.

"If we were to state to an Irish gentleman," wrote Mr. Eden,* "the long continued poverty and idleness which have prevailed over so large a proportion of his countrymen, he would probably answer :—'All this may be very true, but the monopolizing spirit of our sister kingdom is the cause of it: that spirit exercising itself upon Ireland in a very early state of her civilization, nipped her disposition to industry and indeed made it impossible for her to become industrious. In the very infancy of our country, and whilst we were contenting ourselves with the exportations and sale of our cattle, you made an act† to prohibit those exportations. We next gave our attention to the increase of our sheep, in order to export wool, but you forthwith‡ prohibited the exportation of wool, and made it subject to forfeiture. We then endeavoured to employ and support ourselves by salting provisions for sale; but you immediately§ refused them admittance into England, in order to increase the rents of your lands, though you thereby increased the wages of your labourers. We next began the woollen manufacture;

* "A Letter on the Representations of Ireland, respecting a Free Trade," quoted in a pamphlet entitled: "Defence of Opposition, with respect to their Conduct on Irish Affairs, with explanatory Notes. Dedicated to the Right Hon. C. J. Fox. By an Irish gentleman, a Member of the Whig Club. Dublin: Printed for L. White and P. Byrne. MDCCLXXXV."

† 8 Eliz. ch. 3. ‡ 13 & 14 Car. II. ch. 18. § 18 Car. II. ch. 2.

but it was no sooner established than destroyed; for you prohibited* the exportation of manufactured woollens to any other place than England and Wales, and this prohibition alone is reported to have forced twenty thousand manufacturers out of the kingdom.†

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* 10 & 11 Will. III. ch. 10.

† Commercial intolerance may wound a country as much as religious intolerance. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove from France to Great Britain and Ireland not only Huguenots but manufactures; the act of William's parliament, as intolerant commercially, drove woollen manufactures with the Irish Protestant and Huguenot operatives to the Continent again. France, grown wiser, welcomed them. And although English historians, who moralize over the injurious effects of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes on the trade of France, do not comment upon it, this prohibition of the Irish woollen manufacture proved perhaps equally injurious to British trade. This remarkable fact deserves to be better known.

The author of "Observations on Irish Trade and Manufactures," (1769, 1783), already quoted, puts the fact in full relief: "If Ireland," he says, "was the only country besides England which produced wool, it would then be in the power of England and its interests by restrictions laid upon us to reserve the whole trade to themselves. But the case is much otherwise; Spain produces great quantities of fine wool, and all the other parts of Europe raise a great deal of the coarse and a considerable parcel of the finer sort; so that they do not want materials for woollen manufacture. Stopping the door upon Ireland has only served to open and enlarge that trade in foreign countries, by driving great numbers of our weavers to France and other places, where they have got up the same trade and thereby have done England much more injury than if they staid at home and were allowed to export their woollen manufactures. We find by sad experience that since the Revolution the French, Dutch, and Germans have encouraged and cultivated their woollen manufactures to a great height and still go on in improving the same, and by the cheapness of labour and provisions are able to undersell the English already in their own and foreign markets. The French have thereby in a great measure engrossed the woollen trade in Turkey and the Mediterranean, which was

" 'The Navigation Act* had unwittingly, but kindly, permitted all commodities to be imported into Ireland, upon the same terms as into England: but by an act† passed three years afterwards, the exportation of any goods from Ireland into any of the plantations was prohibited, and as if that had not sufficiently crippled the benefits given by the Navigation Act, we were soon afterwards‡ forbid to import any of the enumerated commodities from the plantations into Ireland. This restriction too was much enforced by subsequent acts, and the list of enumerated goods was much increased. I say nothing of your regulations respecting glass, hops, sail-cloth, etc.§ and other inferior barriers and obstructions to our commerce. We subsisted under all this, and under a drain also which has gradually increased upon us, by remittances to our own absentees, English mortgages, Government annuitants, and other extra-commercial purposes to the

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formerly carried on by the English; and many provinces in Germany now supply themselves with their own manufactures which they likewise had formerly from England. We find also that the Spaniards have, either out of revenge or policy, prosecuted the woollen trade with such vigour that they now cloath their armies with their own manufactures, and in imitation of the court the nobility and better sort are cloathed in the same way, and that English bays, which used to be the common wear of the country, is not now made use of there. If this humour goes on, the Spaniards may in time prohibit the exportation of their wool the principal ingredient of the fine drapery of England." There cannot be a doubt that the migration of twenty thousand operatives from Ireland to the Continent helped this revival immensely, was, in fact, a transit of power.

* 12 Car. II. chap. 10.
† 22 Car. II. ch. 18.
‡ 10 & 11 Will. III. chap. 10.
§ 15 Car. II. ch. 7.

amount of half-a-million sterling annually.* And though we retained no trade but in linen and provisions, the latter has been under a three years' prohibition, during which period we lost the principal market for our own beef, though three-fourths of our people were graziers. Many of us, indeed, carried on a clandestine trade, and it was essential to our support, but that too has been lately checked, first by the revolt of the colonies, and now by the war with France and Spain. Our annual remittances and debts to Great

* Before free trade and the independence of parliament were secured, the same complaints touching absenteeism were urged, which since the Act of Union we have heard revived. Mr. Eden's estimate is under the mark of some calculations. In 1769, it was estimated absentees drew out of Ireland £777,775, and £142,207 besides was set down to account of the "eight articles relating to the military." In 1782 against estated absentees a drain was charged of £1,188,980; against absentee pensioners on the Irish establishment, £75,790; military expenses, £55,952, besides other things. A great many estates and woods had been sold and re-sold and the purchase-money carried to England, as well as the interest on many mortgages. Large sums were remitted to pay old debts abroad, by persons who had been absentees. "Several estates of Irish landlords who live abroad have of late been much raised and large fines taken and remitted to them, and many more will not fail to be raised as the old leases expire, and thereby increase their yearly draughts upon us." There was a scarcity of money in consequence; which, however, curiously enough, was of happy promise for the "Papists." "Gentlemen of estates labour under great difficulties in raising of money upon landed security, insomuch that they began to think of relaxing some of the Popery laws with respect to allowing Papists to take real and landed securities under certain restrictions, to induce them to bring money into the Kingdom."—"A List of the Absentees of IRELAND and an Estimate of the Yearly Value of their Estates and Incomes spent abroad.—Dublin, T. T. Faulkner, 1769, 1783."

Britain now increase with our distresses; our leases when they expire are raised by the absentees; the drain is become greater than our means can supply. . . . . After having for many years taken British manufactures to the amount of two millions sterling we are for the present reduced to non-importation agreements, as a measure, not of expediency but of necessity. It would have suited the generosity of our feelings, and the affection which we bear towards you, to have made our representations in better and more peaceable times; but our circumstances are urgent, and your recent relaxations are insufficient. We desire, therefore, a Free Trade, otherwise our distresses must if possible increase, and the conveniency of our ports will continue of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon."

This sketch by an English statesman is sufficient to show that Ireland was for centuries compelled to employ political weapons to liberate her trade. Continual agitation was forced upon her as the condition of being able to send a ship from her harbours to customers abroad. The three propositions brought in by the British minister in 1779-80, in consequence of most determined protests, abridged supplies, and foreign troubles, show to a certain extent, but not wholly, how Irish commerce was cramped eighty-eight years ago. They were framed to remove the prohibition on the export of Irish wool and woollen goods to any part of the continent, the prohibition of the export of Irish glass, or the import of any but

British glass; the prohibition of the right of trading with any of the British colonies. The East Indies were not opened, being in the hands of a monopoly, and the inequality of duties between Britain and Ireland remained as before.

On liberty of commerce being obtained, the progress made was great; some of it may be set down to the general well-being of the Empire at this time, but it was admittedly greater than the progress made by Scotland in the same period. The Report of the Lords of Committee shows what advance had been made up to 1785. In 1798, Lord Chancellor Clare wrote: "There is not a nation on the face of the earth which has advanced in cultivation, in agriculture, in manufactures, with such rapidity within the same period as Ireland." The bankers of Dublin in the same year, and the guild of merchants in the first month of the year following, passed resolutions to the effect that "The commerce of Ireland has increased, and her manufactures have improved beyond example, since the independence of this kingdom was restored by the exertions of our own countrymen in 1782." The bounty system and the system of protective duties did indeed exist, but neither had been at work so long or so thoroughly as in England. That may be suggested as one of the several reasons why Irish manufactures were not so fit to stand alone when this state-nursing of trade was abolished by the act of Union—when it was declared that prohibitions and bounties on exports should cease on the 1st of Janu-

ary, 1801, and all the products of each country, with certain exceptions, should be admitted free of duty into the other. But if there be an argument grounded on the agitation caused by that measure, Lord Stanley cannot use it. The Irish did not originate that act, nor did that act, originated by his predecessors, turn a tide of British capital in upon Ireland, nor did it help, it is complained, to retain Irish capital in the country and keep down the number of absentees.

Irish manufactures declined after this, and why?* One reason we have mentioned, and it has been frequently urged. But, on the other hand, considering that the inequalities of duties had been previously so much more favourable to Britain than to Ireland, the establishment of international free-trade cannot have been of such fatal injury to Irish manufactures.

The truth appears to be that there were other and perhaps weightier reasons. One of these may be

* In Dublin the decline was great, and doubtless some serious misapprehension has occurred from taking the depression there as a general guage, and as due exclusively to the Union. In 1843, a merchant, Mr. Kirwan, made the following statement in the Corporation, which was admitted to be essentially correct by his political opponents, with the comment, however, that there had been distress amongst operatives in Dublin before the Act of Union. "He recollected the time," he said, "when there was commerce and commercial wealth in Dublin; when there was business in their custom-house; when they had ships in their docks from Virginia, New York, Philadelphia, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and when the Irish Parliament gave £45,000 to build docks for the accommodation of the merchants of Dublin. Was there a foreign ship to be seen in them at present? Not one. He remembered to have seen twenty-five ships from the United States there; there had been none for years.

found in the improvements of machinery—inventions which secure immediate and long-continued pre-eminence to the locality wherever first made or first availed of. Another was the collapse caused by the peace of 1815.* Then comes a reason fully as important: the unsatisfactory internal state of Ireland. Manufactures did not strike their roots widely and deeply amongst the Irish nation, not because of the restrictions of England, or the jealousies of British manufacturers, but because of the monopolizing spirit and the intolerance of the very men who complained so much of Britain. Irish manufactures were not Irish, in the proper sense of the word; they were colonial. The colony kept them, as it kept all political and religious liberties it could keep, to itself as perquisites, not to be enjoyed by the nation at large. It assumed that this was due to it as a reward for maintaining what was called an "English interest" in Ireland: the

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In 1784, a respectable and honoured friend of his now present (Mr. McClelland) had come to Dublin with a cargo, from Smyrna, of one hundred and ten bales of silk. In the now deserted Liberty, he sold those one hundred and ten bales in less than four hours. It would take years now. Was there a bale imported direct? All who had been merchants in Dublin had become retailers for London, Liverpool, and Glasgow." "A full and revised Report of the Discussion in the Corporation of Dublin. Dublin: Duffy, 1843." Of late years, a better report of Dublin, in different branches of manufacture, can be made.

* "In the year following 1815, the country fell from comparative prosperity to the very abyss of misery and woe; bankruptcies in country and town were rife. Of the several banks in the City of Limerick, only one withstood the shock."—"Limerick: its History and Antiquities, by Maurice Lenihan, Esq. Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1866."

very same plea put forward to-day by those who would maintain that religious perquisite of the colony —the Church Establishment.

The manufactures and trade of those colonists never suffered restrictions from Britain so hard as they themselves imposed upon the industry of their fellow-countrymen, the native Irish. Their protests against the former have made their sufferings in that way notorious; they were silent on the sufferings of their own victims. If their woollen trade was destroyed, some encouragement was given to their linen trade, and they succeeded in obtaining many relaxations and at last liberty; they, however, prohibited all and encouraged nothing, nor did they grant a relaxation until their own intolerance had destroyed their power of witholding and their prosperity at one blow. "The hand-loom weavers," says the author of an able official report,* "the wool-combers, the clothiers, the dyers, the white-smiths, and even the mariners, in the South of Ireland were so exclusively Protestant, that they would not allow a Roman Catholic apprentice to be received into any of their trades. The only branch of manufactures permitted to the 'mere Irish' was that of brogues or common shoes; and even this trade was not allowed to be carried on within the

* "Report on the Hand loom Weavers' Commission by Assistant-Commissioner Otway, part iii; February, 1840." See also a most masterly and comprehensive "Lecture on the Conditions of Commercial Progress," delivered by Dr W. K. Sullivan, Professor of the Royal College of Science, and of the Catholic University, Dublin, 1865.

precincts of walled towns." They were not less exclusive in other parts of Ireland. "The exclusion of the Irish from all manufactures was rigorously continued;" but on the other hand, Protestants were imported from Holland, the Netherlands, and from France. The Huguenots in especial were encouraged to settle in Ireland. "In support of these refugees and the arts they carried with them, the Irish landed proprietors were very active. A subscription was raised, as appears from Primate Boulter's letters, for establishing the cambric manufacture in the town of Dundalk, amounting to £30,000, and a Monsieur de Joncourt was appointed to collect French operatives." They had escaped from intolerance, but they were the reverse of tolerant themselves. "The Huguenots adopted the baneful system of exclusion, and exerted themselves to prevent the Irish from learning their arts or profiting by their industry. The Duke of Ormond, following the example of the Earl of Cork, also prohibited the instruction of Roman Catholic apprentices, as did the principal land-holders who encouraged foreigners to settle on their estates."

The consequence of this system of intolerant exclusion, was the destruction of the home market, the basis of manufacturing prosperity. In maiming the native Irish they committed commercial suicide. "These foreign manufacturers, aided by the legislature, employed every possible means to depress them, and thus blindly drove from their market a whole nation of customers, and confined them to the use of the

rude and cheap fabrics which were woven by themselves." These intolerant manufacturers, therefore, were obliged to rely on the foreign trade, where they were met by English commercial jealousy, and finally overcome. Protective duties and bounties could not supply the want of a home market, create customers, or prevent the demoralization and ruin of the manufactories. The number of operatives being limited, any dissatisfaction or turmoil * amongst them was the more dangerous, and perhaps occasionally fatal in the case of manufactures situated in Irish or Catholic districts. The manufacturing colonies of Bandon, Blarney, Cork, Lismore and Dublin, were Protestant monopolies; they would not recruit their ranks from the surrounding population; they would not encourage them to be customers. The consequence was that when the system of bounties was abolished they decayed, and have long since wholly disappeared—self-annihilated. In Ulster the case has been different. The Protestant population was comparatively large,

* The author of "Observations on Irish Trade and Manufacture" (1783) says in a note: "One of the greatest obstructions to the benefits and increase of the manufactures of Ireland is the frequent riots and combinations amongst the manufacturers: it would be becoming the wisdom of parliament to find out some scheme or method to prevent them. It is a discredit, and the peace and happiness of the country are too often disturbed by them. I am afraid there is not always a proper attention and proportion kept up as to the prices and profits on manufactures, between the master-manufacturers and the journeymen." He refers to what had been done by the English legislature in apportioning wages, and suggests a bill, framed on what has "been done lately by an amicable arrangement amongst the weavers, under the influence of the Dublin Society, whereby a com-

and therefore not only could operatives be recruited but a home-market was secured. The land-question too comes in. As Mr. Otway truly observes: "The Ulster tenant felt (and feels) he had a property in his farm—something on the earth he could call his own; and the fruits of his industry would be allowed to accumulate into a small capital, and in point of fact such an accumulation did take place; for the greater part of the capital in the linen manufactures of Ulster was derived" (not from British capitalists but) "from the savings of agricultural industry." . . . "There is and, until the relations between landlord and occupant are altered, there can be no accumulation of savings in the South of Ireland from agricultural industry—and hence there was not and can be no spontaneous growth of manufactures from small capitals."* Not only are the questions of the land and of religious ascendancy mixed up with that of manufactures, but the Establishment question itself specifically comes in. It is instructive to know that the culture of flax was

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mittee of six masters and six journey-men" were appointed "to settle wages." The suggestion might not be considered amiss in England at present.

Perhaps there is nothing to be found on record more perversely unfair than the judgment sometimes pronounced against the Irish operatives of the present day, because of those combinations and riots of the past. The Irish operatives of the present are not given to strikes at all; they are to a large extent the descendants of those who were thus intolerantly treated by the persons so addicted: they surely have suffered enough, therefore, without the faults of their oppressors being imputed to them.

* These words still hold good in the main. The tenant-at-will, liable to have his rent raised at any moment, may and does sometimes

abandoned by the farmers of the South of Ireland because the heavy impost on it made it an unprofitable crop, and that this was laid upon it because of the Establishment. "Another reason for the greater prosperity of the linen manufacture in the North of Ireland is," says the Official Report, "that in Ulster a moderate modus was established for the tithe of flax; but all efforts to have the same modus extended to the rest of Ireland were defeated by the pertinacious opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities."

It is manifest, therefore, that in order to promote the growth of Irish manufactures, the Irish require, not that a Conservative statesman should attempt to dazzle them with a mirage of British capital, but that he should remove, or not resist the removal, of the seals from the mine of Irish capital beneath their hands. If he do this voluntarily he will prevent agitation and have the happiness of beholding that peace and security he so much desires, without being asked to reduce his offer of British capital to practice. To do this he should direct his efforts so as to render Irish capital, now locked up or drained away, available to

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accumulate savings by great frugality, but he fears to invest them openly in anything save an emigration ticket. There are indeed not a few estates in the South where the tenants are as well off as in the North, but tenants cannot feel secure when they see a landlord like William Scully, of Ballycohey, ready and empowered to compel them at the bayonet point to give up possession, if a lease be not accepted binding each tenant to pay his rent quarterly in advance, to pay all poor-rates and cess, and at three weeks' notice to abandon house and farm, without any compensation for improvements, or the least claim on crops then sown or ripening in the ground.

the Irish at home; to enable them to receive technical education from acceptable sources; to confirm the northern land tenure and reconstruct the south; to abolish and extirpate, in so far as in him lies, all root and vestige of that system of religious ascendancy which of itself was strong enough to prevent flax-culture in one-half of Ireland, destroy many manufacturing colonies, and prohibit the millions of a nation from industry. That legacy of intolerance was bequeathed by his predecessors; it has been too steadfastly handed down with destructive effect; it is for him to resume and annul it, or to aid others in their endeavour, if he be sincere in his desire for peace.

It is evident by this time that the lesson felt by Burke is the same whose spirit animates the Irish people of the present. "Ireland," he said in 1779, "will not now be satisfied with anything short of a free trade. The people of Ireland have reasoned fairly and justly: the colonies they know have been offered the most that their most sanguine expectations could aspire to. America for her revolt has had a choice of favours held out to her. This is the reward of rebellion. Ireland for her loyalty for almost a century, and her forbearance under accumulated oppression and internal distresses, has been refused the mighty indulgence of importing her own sugars." Are such the lessons a wise, a real statesman would leave to be learned?

ANOMALIES OF GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.

A REALM in which the Constitution is the theme of endless praise and jealous reverence, and yet in one-third of which it is made almost a nullity for generation after generation, must be allowed to fall very far short of the true ideal of a Constitutional State. Yet something like this is what we find occurring in these islands with such regularity and constancy that the strangeness of the fact does not make itself properly felt, and the disgrace involved in it is unheeded by the majority of men. However the subject be approached, it is impossible not to discover in it a condemnation of the system of government which, in order to maintain its position, must go back to a time when the subject's rights were hardly recognized, for weapons to use in its defence against the people it rules. The force of the objection is not lessened but largely increased when on investigation we discover that such arms are required, not in reality to preserve the Constitution, but to retain in existence certain peculiar

institutions as obsolete, as irritating, and as anomalous as the manner of their defence. On patient analysis we shall find that the people of that portion of the empire where such instrumentalities are employed, have been simply striving to rid themselves of some unjust and indefensible obstructions to their well-being which have not been prevalent elsewhere; or to obtain for themselves certain constitutional rights, which have been for years enjoyed and cherished by their fellow-subjects throughout the remainder of the realm. It is quite true that, from time to time, they have despaired of success by peaceful means and appealed to arms. But in so doing they have been countenanced, if not encouraged, by the history of their fellow-subjects, by the principles of the constitution, and by the way in which it was developed. They saw that Englishmen had won at the sword's point for themselves and their posterity, many and great rights which, with the lapse of time, they developed and kept in a state of efficiency at every risk and not without strife and turmoil. And they require identical rights in their third of the realm—not mere names and shadows, but rights in all their substantial reality.

The state of affairs here represented is worthy of earnest consideration. In Ireland we have a system of rule, a means of maintaining it, and a manner of resisting it, all three of which have co-existed in England, but all three of which have here become antiquated. The question is how long they will be

allowed to drag on a miserable existence there, to the manifest injury of the prestige and power of the empire. Before the growth of the intellectual culture of recent years, those who were employed to act as officials in Ireland were almost the only channels of intercommunication between England and the sister island. They gave to the government and people of England exactly what amount of information suited their own purposes and prejudices, and no more. Informed by them, Englishmen could not have realized that in Ireland there was a people capable of appreciating the constitutional rights of the subject, and the system of government which they had themselves striven for and acquired.

If at times the eloquence of some orator, like Grattan, gave them a truer revelation, it was too transient to inform the minds of the masses; whilst statesmen like Fox, in the clash of English parties, forgot those in Ireland in whose cause and principles they were interested, but whose position prevented them from being a power. The great advances of later years must largely influence this question. Officialism is not altogether what it was in Ireland; but in any case its report may now be subjected to tests which formerly were unknown. Freedom of printing Parliamentary proceedings, and the multiplication of organs by which the masses of the people are informed on the facts and principles of government and the actions and sentiments of their neighbours, combine

with the ease and rapidity of intercommunication to make them recognize in others the same feelings which move themselves. They are now less easily deceived, whether those who desire to mislead them do so consciously or unconsciously. Cries which in days past would have excited them to acts of fury and outrage are annually falling into disrepute, and those who would revive them are quickly made aware that they will be received with contempt and disdain. The "Church is in danger" no longer, whatever modification may have taken place; the Constitution still remains, although Catholics, Dissenters, and Jews have been relieved of many disabilities; the Crown has not utterly disappeared since the passing of the Reform Act.

We are confident that the cries which have long availed to separate the interests of the people of Ireland from the sympathies of their fellow-subjects throughout the realm, are fast decaying and will soon perish. Heretofore, in the absence of knowledge, the English people have held somewhat aloof from active interference on behalf of Ireland, but that cannot be predicted of the future. When the real forces of the nation are more justly represented in Parliament, the passions of a class will not be left to riot at their will under cover of the twilight of Irish politics. The monopolies in Church and State will assuredly be broken down, and if those who uphold them were wise they would hasten to prepare for themselves a better position in the future by graceful concessions in the

present. To fight to the bitter end for every invidious privilege may prove the earnestness of their fanaticism, but can be regarded in no way as indicative of far-sighted wisdom. A Reformed Government will be neither willing nor content to maintain existing institutions in Ireland that it may reap their results in an unending series of broken conspiracies.

Whenever the sentiments of the Irish popular party have been allowed a legitimate opportunity, they have been singularly consistent in the advocacy of liberal principles of Government. In the days of the Irish Parliament, the English whigs found in them a certain support whenever they required it on an Imperial question which involved these principles; and since the two Parliaments have been united, the Irish popular party as a rule have been found in a division on the side of liberal measures. To return members to act thus, their constituents have had too often to brave the anger of their landlords, to risk eviction, and to submit to ejectment by thousands. These same landlords venture even publicly to avow that their chief motive in opposing the rectification of the land-laws is that they may retain the power to intimidate their tenants, and punish them by eviction for returning liberal members in the conscientious exercise of their constitutional right. Eviction for such reasons at all times means discontent, culminating frequently in disaffection, frequently in conspiracies and vain attempts at revolt, and frequently in State trials, because a small party in the kingdom

usurps more than regal power, and finds it always possible to cover its acts with the Crown, and the Crown in consequence with odium.

Loyalty has lost in Ireland its original signification, because a party has been allowed to identify the word with servility to its own lawless will, and to ideas and customs which have called forth the reprobation of impartial English travellers past and present. Arthur Young tells us that in his day in Ireland knocking down a peasant was spoken of in a way to make an Englishman stare, whilst if a magistrate granted a summons to the victim he would be regarded as intending a personal insult, and have to answer for it in a duel. Discontent with such a state of things has been treason in Ireland. When the peasants leagued themselves together for protection against acts and exactions which are now regarded with reprobation, their leagues were declared to be aimed at the destruction of the Crown and Constitution of the realm. This was the plea when the Protestant "Hearts of Oak" in the last century were swearing their members to be true to the King and each other. It was the plea when the Catholic peasantry banded together to resist the exactions of a Church Establishment, which they have been forced to support, though it repudiates them. Is no better answer to be given now, when discontent has become despair, and despair has passed into defiance, because the relics of the old system of iniquity are permitted by the Legislature and maintained by the bayonets of the State?

THE POLICE RULE IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND.

THE riots in Waterford and Birmingham, which followed each other so closely last year, present several striking contrasts, but none more suggestive than that in the mode of repression adopted in the two cases. The question deserves attention: because such fatal brawls as that at Waterford tend in a very high degree to irritate the Irish people, and dispose them to lend a willing ear to the organizers of republican confederacies. They believe that blood was shed unnecessarily; that the riot could have been suppressed without killing; and they argue from what happened, that authority is glad of any pretext to bring its armed servants into collision with them, and to show that it prefers to rule by force rather than by any other means.

There cannot be a doubt that the riot at Birmingham was of a much more formidable character than that at Waterford. The rioters were more in number, and more reckless and dangerous in character, whilst

the effect of their conduct was likely from the first to be more disastrous. The soldiers had to be called out and the police to be armed with cutlasses. The latter had been warned by a magistrate in the first instance, however, to make every effort to restrain their temper under all provocations, and to strain every nerve to preserve the peace; and they appear to have done both effectually. Over seventy prisoners are reported to have been captured out of stone-throwing mobs in one afternoon, but there is no record of the police having wounded any rioter so as to cause his death. Some of the prisoners who appear to have received rather severe treatment, are supposed to have suffered from the handling of special constables, who displayed their prowess with staves and bludgeons perhaps a little more than was quite necessary. But the police, though they flourished their cutlasses in a threatening style, only used the flat of the blades, and thus, whilst capturing a good number of delinquents, did not shed the blood of any of their fellow-subjects.

In Waterford the case was different. In the first place, the police, by their fondness for parade, appear to have gone out of their way to provoke a mob, instead of doing all they could to avoid giving occasion for any such assemblage. Four of the persons who had been arrested at Youghal, on suspicion of having landed there from a mysterious brigantine, were brought to Waterford by some Cork policemen to be lodged in goal. There was no escort to meet them,

and no preparations to receive them; apparently no intimation had been forwarded of their intended arrival. The consequence was, the policemen had to ask their way, through the streets of a town with which they were unacquainted, to a police station; and this awkward position of men who appeared with prisoners in their custody naturally tended to attract a crowd of sight-seers. The people of the town had been irritated by a visit from the informer Corydon, who had paraded himself after his manner; and as his visit had been intended to afford him an opportunity of identifying some of these prisoners, the crowd gave them the tribute of its sympathy. The prisoners were, however, safely deposited in the central police station without any interference on the part of the mob, and there is no reason whatever to believe that they might not have been quite as peacefully taken direct to the gaol had there been any one at the railway terminus to guide them to it.

But to do things so simply without a parade of horse and foot would appear flat burglary to the petty officials in Ireland. The time selected for taking these political prisoners to gaol was the evening, after work hours, so that there might be no pretext for the absence of a crowd, and then, of course, there was an absolute necessity that the police should make as terrible a display as possible. At nine o'clock —twilight being most suitable for a row—the prisoners were marched out of the police station. They, with their escort of Cork policemen, were in the centre; and

round them, armed with rifles and fixed bayonets, were forty of the Waterford force, whilst mounted constables, armed with sabres, went in front and rear and on either side to keep the way clear. The prisoners had been brought without difficulty by their small Cork escort for half a mile: they had only a quarter of a mile to go from the police-station to the gaol, and in the course of it some stones were thrown from the outer edge of the mob. The shower of stones increased in density when the police were returning. At the inquest, the Head Constable in command admitted that it was "most probable" that nothing of this, or of the unfortunate events which followed, would have occurred had the prisoners been taken directly to the gaol.

In what subsequently took place, the difference between the action of the authorities in Waterford and in Birmingham comes out strongly. At Waterford there appears to have been no mayor nor any magistrate present to warn the citizens, control the police, or read the Riot Act; everything was left to the discretion of the Head Constable. His men were severely pelted with stones; and one of them running over to a stone-thrower was surrounded by the crowd. The Head Constable ordered the mounted men to turn back and clear away the mob; and they appear to have been quite able previously to keep a space clear around the escort. Not content with this, however, he instantly ordered the "infantry" to turn right about and to double; so that the crowd was

immediately driven about in confusion, and he saw some of his men strike several of them on the shoulder and about the body with their bayonets. When he saw the place clear, he says, he struck at the swords of his men—not thinking it necessary apparently to do so before.

Thus a body of exasperated men armed with bayonets fixed on rifles were let loose upon a crowd to cut at those who could not escape, and who are stated to have been innocent of stone-throwing. Generally in such cases the delinquents keep in the rear or at a safe middle distance, so as to run no risk of being recognized and made responsible for their actions. By one account, many of the stone-throwers were hid behind the wall of a graveyard which bounded the street on one side, and so escaped scot-free. Of those who suffered from the police charge, one was a woman who received a sword-thrust through the arm, another was a little boy who was severely trampled by the horses, and a third a very old man who was wounded in the hip. One man received a wound in the back, and another was killed outright. His heart had been pierced through and through by the lunge of a bayonet. To balance this result we do not find that any of the constables had suffered grave injury; on the contrary the doctor who examined them swore that whilst many of them had cuts or bruises, none of them were dangerously hurt, nor did he think it necessary to confine any one of them to his bed. Only four arrests are stated to have been made; and

here again we have a point of contrast with what occurred in Birmingham.

In England the aim of the authorities was to quell the disturbance with as little violence as possible, and at the same time to make as many of the delinquents amenable to the law as they could. In Ireland legal procedure appears to be regarded as too tedious. The object evidently was not so much to capture prisoners whom the law might judge, as to inflict summary chastisement * then and there upon the multitude amongst which the delinquents lurked. Both in Birmingham and in Waterford the authorities succeeded in accomplishing the objects at which they aimed; but what will be the respective effect on the popular mind of the two modes of action employed? In England the police will be regarded simply as men who did

* In fact that spirit of irritating disrespect for the rights of the subject which shocked Arthur Young, when exhibited by the gentry-class (p. 353), is now transferred to the police establishment. Its bureaucracy has superseded the petty aristocracy. The change was of considerable advantage in many things, until lately, when the sense of undisputed supremacy has made it excessively arrogant. In fact, the "official" is fast becoming, and will certainly become, when the Establishment is overthrown and evil landlordism curbed, as powerful for mischief as either—if the present system of centralization continue. "The report of a police-officer has greater weight in Dublin Castle with his brother-officials than the opinion of a magistrate of whatever character and local influence." So wrote Lord Lifford in 1865. ("Who is Blacker?" *Speech of Sir R. Peel, 24th February.* By Viscount Lifford. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1865.) No doubt the gross partiality of the Orange magistracy was the first cause of this; and, as against that, officialism protected the people. Now, however, that the custodian requires to be looked after, who is to watch

their duty according to the law; and no angry feeling will be entertained against them. In Ireland on the other hand, the police will be looked upon as men who exceeded their duty, employed more violence than was necessary, and, taking the law into their own hands, chose to execute summary vengeance for personal injuries rather than to bring prisoners under the jurisdiction of the courts that they might have the benefit of a legal trial.

The mischief done in this way in Ireland is very great. Such conduct as that on which we have commented is not unusual; and it is one of the causes which produce that irritation amongst the people which finds its ultimate vent in open disaffection. The Irish constabulary are no doubt a fine body of men; but recent modifications have made them less a

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him? The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for so long a period, has allowed a license to officials which has injured them as servants of a constitutional state. Petty acts of despotism are done with impunity; as when in the country town of Borris-o-leigh, a grocer's tea-paper was seized by an armed force, in July of the present year, and confiscated, because a harp surrounded by a wreath of shamrocks, was rudely imprinted on it. The grocer got no compensation. Some note paper with similar devices, done gaudily in green, was seized a month after in Cork and elsewhere; but the Scottish firm, which had exported it, demanded that the confiscated paper should be given up, and though the seizure had been made "in accordance with orders from Dublin," the demand in due time was complied with. The "patriotic note-paper" manufactured for the Irish market by the Scottish firm is allowed to be sold in Ireland; the tea-paper of the grocer Maher of Borris-o-leigh is still secure in the stronghold of Dublin Castle. One is irresistibly reminded of the naive remark of the tuft hunting Derrick when relating how he and his companion gave a waiter in Cork "a hearty drubbing" for making a mistake

body of police than an army of occupation. They fully appreciate the change; and from the height of their military ideas look down on their former more humble though more useful position. They have acquired a habit of using military terms, and designating people who have not the privilege of being policemen or soldiers as "common civilians." The adoption and use of such phrases will sufficiently explain how it happens that in Ireland we so frequently hear of collisions between the police and the people—or, as they would say, between constables, or police "infantry," and "common civilians."

The rigorous and constant discipline of the army makes the soldiery long-suffering, but this discipline does not accompany the rifles and sword-bayonets into the police force. The weapons are there, but

about his wine. He said: "It is some satisfaction in this country that a man has it in his power to punish with his own hands the insolence of the lower class of people without being afraid of a crown-office or a process-at-law." (Letters, &c. by Samuel Derrick, Master of the Ceremonies at Bath. Dublin: Faulkner, MDCCLXVII.) Mr. Bright gave expression to the feelings which must animate all high-minded Englishmen and true statesmen with respect to the police-army as now existing in Ireland: "You have now in Ireland a great military force, altogether disproportionate to any necessity there could be in a country that was at once well governed, prosperous, and contented. I recollect the other day a gentleman near this city had unrolled before him a map of Ireland. I asked him what the little red circles on the map indicated, and he said 'the police stations.' I am sure there were not fewer than one hundred, possibly two hundred stations—not for a police with their ordinary truncheon, as we have been accustomed to see the policeman in England, but an armed police which ought not to exist, and ought not to be necessary in any free country." Extract from Speech at Limerick Banquet, July, 1868.

not the restraint which teaches men to be chary of making use of them. Till these things are better managed, till a more constitutional way of exercising authority is adopted, the people of Ireland will have no sympathy with the Government they live under, and irritation will continue to prepare the way for Fenianism.

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE IRISH CONVICT SYSTEM.

THE political prisoners, tried at the November Commission held in Dublin last year, spoke with much asperity of the system of prison discipline to which they were subjected before trial. Serious injury to health was complained of in at least two cases—by Costello and Nagle. Costello said "I am afraid I carry in my bosom the seeds of a disease that will bring me to a premature grave, and that Kilmainham has sown those seeds." Nagle, in his affidavit, stated that, having been arrested in June last, he was confined in Kilmainham, and was removed thence to Mountjoy in consequence of the delicate state of his health, but had, nevertheless, been taken back again to the former prison. The Court, when deciding upon the legal points raised in the affidavit, expressed a conviction that the Crown would humanely comply with any requisition to remove the prisoner from Kilmainham to Mountjoy, if the locality suited his health better. In harsher terms than the others Halpin also de-

nounced the proceedings of the Governor and the disciplinary system adopted in Kilmainham. In view of these complaints, it is worth while to examine the cases of alleged injury to health and of mortality charged against the Irish prison system, with especial reference to the Irish Fenian prisoners.

The first place in which a fatal case occurred was in a Northern prison, the County Antrim Gaol. To this prison a number of Fenian prisoners were removed from Mountjoy Convict Depôt, at Dublin; and in a short time after their removal a coroner's jury was called to hold an inquest on one of their number. According to the facts brought out at the investigation and published in a Belfast newspaper, the deceased was a young man named John MacGeogh, twenty-five years of age; he was taken ill on the 20th of March, 1866, and died on the 23rd. The immediate cause of this rather sudden death was given as disease of the kidneys; and the jury found accordingly. The popular papers complained that the investigation, held in the board-room of the gaol, was not a public one open to the representatives of the press. No question as to the severity of the discipline or its bearing upon the case of the deceased appears to have been debated at the inquest. But we find that even sixteen months later, at Fenian trials in Belfast, in August, 1867, an affidavit was made by one prisoner, Francis Rea, and corroborated by two others, William and Philip Harbison, in which it was incidentally stated that from the early weeks of March, they had been kept in

solitary confinement "for twenty-four hours out of the twenty-four hours." We may take it for granted that since this rigorous discipline was at work in 1867, it was carried out with at least as much severity in 1866; for the tendency has been rather to relax the rule than to make it more stringent. Could the disease from which the prisoner died be said with any fairness to have had for its predisposing cause the regulations adopted? This would have been a proper question for solution at the inquest. It is impossible, of course, to say definitely now how far or in what measure the case in question might have been influenced one way or the other by such a cause; but it is known to physicians that "sedentary occupations, indolence, and a neglect of due exercise" predispose very frequently to nephritis. Cold, especially at night, likewise assists in developing the disease; in the present instance, there is evidence of an enforced inaction.

The next case of a death given as resulting from the rigour of Irish prison discipline is that of John Fottrel. This man had originally belonged to the class of tenant-farmers; but for many years he lived in one of our midland manufacturing towns. On the evidence of the informer Pettit, he was arrested, taken to Dublin and confined there in the winter months. He was released; but it is alleged that his constitution had been shaken—that he caught a cold during his imprisonment which made him less able to bear the changes to which his out-door occupation exposed him. He died, on the 1st November, 1866, of a gastric

attack. In this case there is an absence of any distinct and decisive testimony to go upon; and where so many agents may have been at work after his return, we cannot accept without further confirmation the mere opinion of friends or relatives.

The circumstances of the next death are more definitely ascertained. In the last month of 1866 the cholera broke out in the prison-wards of Mountjoy, and carried off a Fenian prisoner named William Maher, who had been arrested in Carrick-on-Suir, under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was publicly alleged by a correspondent of one of the Dublin Liberal papers that his death was induced by the bad quality of the food supplied in the prison. Neither the governor nor any of the warders or soldiers on duty appear to have been attacked; and thus a puzzled doctor, writing in the *Medical Press*, described the outbreak as unaccountable. It did not come by contagion, nor by the clothes, for they had been handled by others who escaped; nor by the water, for it had been used by others; nor, he adds, by the food, for it had been inspected. But inspection is another thing from use; and if to the cold of that unusually harsh month were added bad and insufficient food, the occurrence of cholera is not inexplicable. Bearing on this, take the following extract from the official report of Mountjoy Prison for the early part of the next year. The physician in his report says: "I object on medical grounds to the punishment of prisoners by giving them insufficient clothing, as one not

only likely to develop scrofulous disease, but highly likely to give rise to acute disease also. One prisoner had the appearance of a man labouring under serious illness; indeed, the leaden hue of his face and sunken eye looked like that of a patient struck with Asiatic cholera. I enquired what ailed him; he said that he was cold—very cold; that no bed nor bedding, except a single rug, had been allowed him during the night; that he had lain on the floor with no other bed-clothes than a rug to cover him; and that he was cold into his very bones. About the time referred to the weather was exceedingly inclement. The cold was on some nights intense—several degrees below the freezing point. The weight of the rug allowed to the prisoner I ascertained to be not more than four pounds. He had nothing but the floor to lie on—no bed-clothes, mattress, or pillow."

Had cholera been prevalent then, as it was when Maher died, would the prisoner whose symptoms are here described have escaped with his life?

In the month following that in which Maher died, another case of mortality occurs—this time in another Dublin prison, Richmond Gaol. The deceased was William Kennedy, a smith, twenty-eight years of age. On the 2nd of May Acting-Inspector Clifford and some other constables were conveying a party of prisoners to Chancery Lane Police Station in a cab. A crowd collected to see what was taking place, but made no offensive demonstration. However, Clifford got out, and seeing Kennedy pressing in the crowd

" made a blow of a stick at him and some others who were crowding about," according to his own account at the trial (27th October, 1866). One witness deposed that Clifford ran through the crowd striking all before him: another stated that he struck Kennedy several times. Kennedy hastened away from the crowd back again into his forge, but the constable pursued, and, according to another witness, struck him severely there; whereupon Kennedy snatched up an iron bar lying near, and returned the blow heavily. The jury took a long time to agree to a verdict, but at last returned one of guilty, recommending the prisoner to mercy on account of the great provocation they considered him to have received. He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, inclusive of the term he had already undergone before trial. Nine months after his arrest, and four months after his trial, he was dead in prison, having died on the 29th of January, 1867.

The next instance we notice is the complaint of one Patrick Welch, published in a Dublin paper, dated 27th of April, 1867. Having left Liverpool for Drogheda, he was arrested on landing, and removed to Dundalk on the 9th of March. There, he says, he was kept in solitary confinement for twenty-three hours every day; receiving for breakfast a porringer of Indian meal and some milk; for dinner about fourteen ounces of bread and some milk at three o'clock; nothing more for the rest of the day and night. Owing to this treatment, he declares, he fell very sick on the 8th of April. We quote his own words: " I

shook from head to foot as if I had been paralyzed; I had a pain in my left breast, and my head ached badly." He adds that he made application for a doctor on the 9th and 11th, but that none came till the 14th. He continued very weak, and having been accustomed to active work at his trade as a shoemaker, found the want of exercise tell severely on his health. After six weeks' imprisonment he was released, and ordered to go back to Liverpool and not to return. As a consequence of the prison discipline he found himself "shaken in health." We have quoted his words with regard to feeling paralyzed, because of the light they throw on a case reported in the *British Medical Journal* for the 9th of November, 1867.

"Edward M., aged about 26, a farmer's son, of good constitution and athletic build," says the hospital report, "was admitted into the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital, 10th of September, 1867. His general appearance indicated excellent health, and all the organic functions were performed perfectly." But it appears "there was complete loss of voluntary motion of the lower extremities, the muscles of which were soft and flaccid, and scarcely responded to the strongest magneto-electric current." He had been arrested "on suspicion," but was discharged after one week's detention. "When arrested he was in perfect health. . . . On being discharged, his lower limbs were found to be completely paralyzed." The report adds that he suffered much on the occasion from the mental shock; but paraplegia or paralysis of the lower extremities

arises from an accident or from physical exposure rather than from mental perturbation. Accordingly we find it stated that this prisoner, so young and healthy, suffered much "whilst in prison from the severe cold of February;" and his case is set down as one of "acute paraplegia, arising probably from exposure to cold." Taken in connexion with this, the description of his symptoms given by Welch does not appear exaggerated. "Shaking palsy," to which he compares his case, has been supposed to depend, like the other, on some change in the spinal cord, and tremor is always symptomatic of debility.

In the Annual Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons, printed in the early part of last year, Dr. MacDonnell, the medical officer to Mountjoy Prison, made some remarkable statements. Having observed that one of the untried prisoners had died in 1866, he added that all other cases of serious illness were reported to the Government and were discharged from prison "upon its being understood that confinement was likely really to aggravate their disease." This statement has a certain bearing on the case of John Fottrel, whose death was attributed to injury to health received whilst in prison. In this case the evidence, as we said, is insufficient to sustain the charge; but the charge acquires a certain *à priori* credibility when we discover that bad cases are discharged lest they should become worse in prison. Dr. MacDonnell further adds that, "apart from diseases, the health of a good many of these prisoners has deteriorated from their prolonged con-

finement." "There are at present," he continues, "thirteen untried political prisoners who have been confined in this prison for eight months or upwards, and who are subjected to a cellular discipline more strict in some respects than that to which a convict is submitted." There were many others in the cells as long, part of whose confinement had been spent in other prisons. On strictly medical grounds the physician strongly recommended that they should be allowed, if possible, some degree of association with their fellows. The necessity for treating the political prisoners in their cells when sick, he adds, instead of admitting them into the hospital wards for treatment, increased the severity of the discipline to which they were submitted. In consequence of the remonstrance of the medical officer, Lord Naas, replying to a question from Mr. Blake early in May, stated that he had ordered an enquiry to be made, and given directions for a material relaxation of the rules. The amount of exercise was doubled, the prisoners were allowed to smoke while at exercise, and to walk in association, one prisoner with another, during that time. In the recess he had ordered a report to be made, and was informed there had been no case of serious illness amongst the Fenian prisoners. They were permitted to obtain their food from outside; and, if they were unable to do this, the prison dietary was made more liberal in their behalf. Other relaxations had been allowed them; and the object of the Government was to do nothing harsh, but only to adopt those measures

that were absolutely necessary. This amelioration has, we believe, been fairly carried out in Mountjoy Prison, where the medical officer had frequently urged it. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that all the Irish prisons have had their rules relaxed in like manner. In Kilmainham the untried prisoners were always subject to almost everything from which they were relieved in Mountjoy; and with regard to other prisons the same rule holds good.

At this period a correspondence was taking place with respect to a prisoner confined in Naas Gaol. On the 15th of April, Sarah Stowell, a widow, memorialized the Viceroy about her son, who having, on the 18th of December, been arrested for having arms without a licence, pleaded guilty, and was condemned to twelve months' imprisonment. The memorial stated that he was twenty-one years of age, and of a constitution so delicate that for several months immediately preceding his arrest he had required the constant attendance of a physician, whose certificate was appended. It further stated that imprisonment "during the four months of an unusually severe winter, together with an insufficiency of nutritious food since his removal to Naas Gaol, where he is not allowed any flesh-meat, although it is a positive necessity in his debilitated state, have developed his disease from chronic into rapid consumption. Memorialist is authorized to state that Dr. Thornhill, the respected physician of Kilmainham, under whose treatment her son was for a short period of his imprisonment, will, if

referred to, certify that longer imprisonment must be fatal to him." Ample bail was promised for his future good behaviour. The widow wrote again on the 1st of May, stating that she had received no reply, and reminding the Viceroy of her petition. On the 17th of May she wrote to the Under-Secretary, stating that two days before, in conformity with his letter of the 14th, she had gone to Naas Gaol to receive her son on his release. "I bitterly regret to say," she continues, "that starvation had been allowed to do its work too effectually on him before his release. What remained of my child—mere skin and bone—was carried out by two of the warders of the prison, and given to me, and I succeeded in getting him removed to Dublin the same evening. The representations which I made to his Excellency on 16th April, and in my letter on 1st of May—representations fully borne out by the medical authorities therein referred to . . . have been terribly verified, for between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 16th instant, about nine hours after I had got him home, he expired." She added, that if the Executive desired to have his skeleton—for what remained of him was little more—examined by a medical gentleman or other competent person, they were at liberty to do so. No inquest, however, was held. The concourse of mourners at his funeral was so large as to be a demonstration.

For the next fatal instance we turn again to the Antrim County Gaol. We mentioned the name of

William Harbison as having been attached, in the first week of August in the present year, to an affidavit in which it was incidentally stated that from early in March he and his fellows had been in solitary confinement for "twenty-four hours out of the twenty-four hours in the northern gaol and twenty-three out of the twenty-four in Mountjoy. On the 9th of the next month he was found dead in his cell. His relatives withdrew from the inquest, his wife giving as a reason that she would not consent to having it held in the gaol, the place where her husband was killed. To judge from the evidence given, the deceased—a quiet, delicate man—had been treated with some consideration immediately before his death. He died from the bursting of the great artery at the heart. The manner in which he had been shifted about from Belfast to Dublin, and to and fro again and again, so as to have been three times in the custody of the Governor of Antrim Gaol since the early part of 1866, could not have been of advantage to a person with any such constitutional tendency as his.

Another fatal case, that of John Kelly, whose funeral, like that of Stowell and Harbison, was an immense one, took place in Limerick on the 6th of October. He had been arrested "on suspicion" in November, 1865, and released after six months' imprisonment. It has been alleged, and has not been denied, that he went into prison robust and athletic, and returned from it with hopelessly bad health. Let us turn to other cases, in which the effects of the dis-

cipline were in some respects worse than fatal. On the 20th June, 1867, two prisoners out of those confined at Mountjoy were removed to Richmond District Lunatic Asylum, after an imprisonment of not many months. It appears that these are not the only prisoners on whose mind the rigorous discipline has told with evil effect. It is an unpleasant fact to know that there were other similar victims of this harsh system; the public became cognizant of two cases only, and that by an accident. The amount of injury inflicted by officials, virtually irresponsible, on prisoners who were never tried, who were never brought up before a magistrate, never allowed to know the terms of the charge against them, nor to confront their accusers, is simply shocking. This extract from the medical officer's protest, addressed to the governor of Mountjoy prison (but not published in the official reports), proves this only too well :—" I must beg of you," he says, " to draw both Mr. Murray's and Captain Barlow's attention to the present state of things which is, in my opinion, becoming serious. Thomas Bourke is showing undoubted symptoms of insanity. Finnigan has lately given way to one of those paroxysms brought on by long confinement. Sweeny is very unsettled in his mind. Whyte (lately discharged) was considered unfit for cellular discipline. Barry (also lately discharged) was considered unfit, from his mental state, to go away from the prison without some one in charge of him. I have not the slightest doubt that the prolonged confinement and severe

discipline is the chief cause of all this. Apart from considerations of humanity, it would be a very grave matter if any of those *untried* prisoners (particularly any one like Bourke or Sweeny, the former of whom has been *twelve*, the latter *seventeen*, months in confinement) should commit suicide. I beg leave, therefore, to impress on you, as well as the inspector and director, the necessity of advocating a relaxed system of treatment for the untried prisoners."

Unfortunately, of this terrible state of things within the prison the public outside were in complete ignorance, and it seems too probable that had the medical officer been a resident official, living among officials, with no other means of support than his salary, and shut off from constant communication with the outer world, the public would still be in ignorance of it. Yet there cannot be a doubt that if these things, which were done at our doors, had been committed in Naples, or Jamaica, the public ear would have heard of them and the voice of our philanthropists would have denounced them to the indignation of the civilized world.*

Perhaps the most remarkable fact of any, next to the fatal list we have enumerated, is that the medical officer of Mountjoy, to whom humanity owes so much, whose repeated remonstrances have availed to spare us an increase of these cases, has been removed from his functions. A resident doctor has been appointed—a

* See Appendix.

prison official with no connection out of doors. The *Medical Press* says of this unfortunate alteration: "We cannot but think that the removing the connection between the inmates of the prison and the external world, and the removal of that safe-guard for the compassionate treatment of the prisoners, which the inspection of the extern medical officer ensures, must prove injurious not only to the efficiency of the prison, but also to the confidence which the public should feel in its administration. It cannot be forgotten that more than one proof has been afforded that governors are not infallible, and that the wholesome restraint of supervision is required to protect the prisoners against the despotic power which is placed at the disposal of the officers."

Notwithstanding the complaints urged against Portland and Pentonville, they have a cleaner bill of health to show than these singularly severe Irish prisons, the condition of which certainly requires investigation.

PRE-HISTORIC POLITICIANS ON IRELAND.

MEN who refuse alike to admit new facts or to forget old prejudices are to be found everywhere. In social life they do little harm, and may even furnish a subject of interesting study to psychological enquirers; but it is otherwise in politics. There it is essential that men who take an active part should be clear-sighted to recognize the results produced by the struggle of forces, and even to detect beforehand the tendency of the forces in action, and the effect they are likely to produce. Like causes, it is certain, will not produce like effects when the materials wrought upon are different. An educated people will be affected differently from an uneducated people by the same enactments. On a nation cramped and confined within its territorial limits, the pressure of identical circumstances will not re-act in the same way as on a nation which has found an outlet and used it. The pre-historic politician is especially out of place when, at this critical period, the Irish question comes up for

debate. There are few countries and fewer nations the circumstances intimately affecting which have undergone so complete a revolution within so short a period. In the space of half of a man's life-time the aspect of the country has been altered, the character of the people changed, and the foreign relationships of the nation utterly subverted. To speak of such a country with the ideas of thirty years ago, or of twenty years ago, is to commit an error of judgment which may have serious consequences if the speaker is a man of influence, and especially if, being a Minister, he allows his acts to be influenced by his obsolete ideas. Certainly this is least of all the time when men should try to govern Ireland on a plesiosaurian policy. Yet when the chief minister of the Crown declared that in a year after Ireland should have been left to herself her people would all be cutting each other's throats, we could hardly have expected better. The establishment of a republic in Ireland is a theoretical danger, the practical imminence of which is not very evident. What is closer and more real is the peril which may follow from a policy instigated by the notion that men are to legislate for Irishmen as for semi-barbarians. The President of the Irish Republic may be a myth, but a Prime Minister is a fact. In spite, however, of the high authority on which it has been proclaimed, the theory that the Irish are bloodthirsty barbarians, only restrained from mutual slaughter by forcible repression, will hardly stand. Nor, supposing even its acceptance, does it seem very well fitted to conci-

liate the Irish people and make them bear with more patience the admitted grievances they suffer. It has been declared that they have two marked characteristics or vices; they are very sensitive to insult, and have tenacious memories for wrongs—are, it is said, vindictive. Had Lord Derby studied to irritate them and make them irreconcileable, it is difficult to conceive what more apt method he could have found than that of insisting on the fantastic theory he has put forward. Although Lord Derby is no longer in a position to show his tact and capacity as a Minister, by offering a harsh and unprovoked insult to the millions who inhabit Ireland, his theory has not been withdrawn. On the contrary, it may be discovered lurking under one disguise or other in the minds of not a few who presume to speak on the Irish question. It deserves, therefore, some notice, and that amount of refutal which an antiquated superstition may receive when put to the test of modern science and well-authenticated facts.

This theory is of course founded upon the venerable but exploded tradition that there are two nations in Ireland ever ready to fly at each other's throats, if only they were not severely watched over. The belief is so ludicrous when one contemplates the history and present condition of the country, as to make it scarce credible that it should be seriously put forward. Yet not only is this the fact, but pretentious essays are every day written to prop it up. We are told by such instructors that these two nations

live side by side, but do not mingle; that for six hundred years they have waged an internecine war, and built up hostile literatures; that differing radically in race, in creed, in civilization, and in their fundamental theories of land—in everything which has ever divided mankind—they renew their ancient hostilities by wars in streets and alleys every year. A more absurd congeries of blunders it would be difficult to discover. There are not two nations merely in Ireland; there are many nations in it, if we look simply to their origin. Wave after wave of emigration from the East, the South, and the North has rolled upon its shores; and in their subsidence they have mingled together more or less completely. The Norseman and the Anglo-Saxon were in Ireland, as well as the Milesian and his predecessors, when the Anglo-Norman arrived there. And it should be known that they were there, not merely as conquerors and conquered who gradually became assimilated, but as friendly settlers amid the goodwill of the people. There were even intermarriages between the Norse and Milesian princely families, as the Scandinavian Sagas make evident; and the Anglo-Saxons of England had nowhere more hospitable hosts, nor at times more faithful allies, than the people of Ireland. The battle of Clontarf itself was not, as is popularly supposed, an uprising of the Celts against the Danes. It had its origin in an insult offered at the Irish Court to an Irish prince, a former ally of the Danes, who roused them to avenge him upon the Irish

king, whom he considered a usurping monarch, a
who was himself allied by marriage with the Dani
prince. After their destruction as a military pow
the Danes yet remained in large numbers in the cou
try, intermarrying with the people. The Norman
after their acquisition of England, went to Ireland
the invitation of an Irish prince; and intermarriag
between the chief families speedily took place.
little did the radical differences of race interfere
prevent the peaceful amalgamation of the new inv
ders with the natives, that laws were passed by Engli
statesmen to prevent this assimilation and to perpet
ate the distinction. That it should have required th
enactment of laws to enforce such a policy shows ho
absurd is the theory we have quoted, and on wh
extreme ignorance it is based.

With the Cromwellian invasion the distinctions
creeds added markedly to the other grounds of diffe
ence; and the terrible policy of driving all the nativ
families into a mountainous corner of the islan
strengthened them as strongly as possible. Yet it wa
a matter of constant perplexity to the supreme autho
rities how to prevent the continual intermarriages
the Cromwellian officers and soldiers with Irishwomen
Cashiering, transplanting, and flogging were all trie
and found ineffectual. Forty years after, an observer,

* Quoted in the "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, by John P
Prendergast, Esq. London: Longman and Co." Mr. Prendergas
relates a remarkable case in point. There was no fiercer enemy of th
native Irish than Edmund Spenser, the gentle poet and ruthless colonis

regretfully describing how the English who came to Ireland with William III. became inextricably mingled with the Irish, said: "We cannot so much wonder at this when we consider how many there are of the children of Oliver's soldiers who cannot speak one word of English. And (which is strange) the same may be said of some of the children of King William's soldiers, who came but t'other day into the country. This misfortune is owing to the marrying Irishwomen for want of English. 'Tis sure that no Englishman in Ireland knows what his children may be as things are now; they cannot well live in the country without growing Irish."

Thus, even whilst their party was in power, did every new section of invaders intermingle with the population. Much more of course was this the case when a

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He recommended Essex to waste Ulster with famine as Lord Grey de Wilton had wasted Munster, which had reduced the people to such a state that "out of every corner of the woods and glynns they came forth on their hands, for their legs would not bear them—they looked like anatomies of death, and spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves." Yet this man's grandson William Spenser was found guilty of having "become Irish" in Cromwell's time, and was ordered to "transplant" into the Connaught mountains, whilst the Fermoy estate conferred on his family by Queen Elizabeth was divided amongst Cromwellian soldiers. And that estate, be it remarked, had been given to the Spensers after confiscation from the Fitzgeralds, whose fathers had invaded Ireland in a similar way, but, who had also "become Irish." In all probability a local historian would have little difficulty in pointing out that descendants of Cromwell's soldiers, to whom the property was given, had become rebels, and that some descendants of their Williamite successors went the same way, and, it may be, furnished "centres" to the "Irish Republican Brotherhood."

new wave of invasion followed, and confounded t
in defeat with those they had fought against. T
the Norman sword smote Dane and Milesian al
and united them in a common calamity. To
"planters" of James and the "settlers" of Crom
Normans and "natives" were simply Catholic enem
whom, by persecution, they fused inextricably.
termarrying with the others by necessity, even whe
the flush of conquest, the new "settlers" had no re
to cling to English prejudices when they found a
swarm of Royalist English ousting them from place
designating them scornfully as "Cromwellian do
Thus they too were, to a great degree, welded into
mass, as were also many of the Williamites, wh
children we have seen could speak no English.
history of almost every notable insurrection since
Anglo-Norman, shows how intimate was the unio
races. From Silken Thomas to James Stephens,
Normans and Saxons, the Cromwellians and Willi
ites, have contributed their quota, and more t
their quota, to the number of insurgent leaders.
insurrection of 1798 was devised and conducted by
Protestant descendants of the settlers of Crom
and of William, with some admixture of those of N
man descent, and a not proportionate number of
older inhabitants. The headquarters of its propaga
lay amongst the Dissenting population of Ul
whom difference of race or creed did not hinder fi
gathering their Catholic neighbours into a "Un
Society." As little have they or their "radically dif

ent fundamental land theories" hindered the same element from being the most vigorous in the agitation for tenant-right.

As to what has been termed the Irish Catholic element, it manifestly was not repellent in the past, nor is it now. Cork, Limerick, and Dublin, cities in which Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, have no hesitation in electing Protestant mayors from out the minorities in their corporations. When they can freely choose, they show no unwillingness to return a Protestant liberal as member to parliament, and have more than once placed the Catholic candidate lower on the poll. Take another instance. In the autumn of last year a deputation of the English Reform League proposed to go to a Reform demonstration at Dublin. A London Catholic paper warned the Irish against them. "No Catholic who is worthy of the name," it wrote, "can now touch that unclean thing—the English Reform League. If the latter or any of its members are invited to the demonstration, it will directly be said that Irish Catholics are utterly indifferent to the interests of the Pope." The Reform League had passed a resolution of sympathy with Garibaldi, whereupon the Irish Reformers had objected on the ground that, in its corporate capacity, it should have confined itself to the great question at issue. They thought it right, however, to transmit to it an invitation. An Irish popular paper, whose conductor a short time afterwards was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, took the same view, and

replied to its London contemporary in these words: "We will allow no wretched bigot to sow the seeds of dissension between Irishman and Irishman, or between the Irish people and the English people. Springing from many sources, professing several creeds, we have been cast together by the hand of God upon this corner of the earth, circled round by seas. We have all the same native land, the same great and abiding wrong, the same destiny, and the same future. We cannot if we would, and we would not if we could, fly apart; so many are the kindly ties which have been woven between us. And it is our hope and fervent prayer that, together in content and happiness as now in sorrow and suffering, we may one day be able proudly to show before the world how legislative independence was toiled for, won, and worthily enjoyed by an united Irish nation."

It is true that, in Ulster, Orangemen and Ribbonmen have displayed bitter enmity, and that they may be taken as representing different creeds and the modern and ancient colonists. But it also is true that hostility quite as intense has been exhibited, in Munster, between factions who were not merely of the same faith and race, but who were sometimes even of the same name. These factions have been extinguished in Munster, because the Orange magistrates were restrained from fostering them; and, in Belfast, the Orange riots disappeared on the substitution of the Irish constabulary for the local Orange police.

These facts, rightly considered, are of good augury

They prove that the path of a really reforming statesman will not be obstructed by intangible difficulties, invincible enmities of race, or creed, or civilizations. The races of Ireland have always shown a strong tendency to amalgamate, and have in fact fused together, even under the check of severe laws. In the same way no other differences have hindered them from uniting for a common purpose which they judged of importance; and it is for the true statesman to remove all vestiges of invidious laws which interfere to hinder as perfect a fusion or harmony among them as may be. This will not be done by countenancing an Orange Society—for the purpose of working it as a Tory Trades' Union—whilst repressing the combinations to which it gave rise; nor by making one part of the people support the religious or secular establishment of another part; nor by crying out, when such injustice produces its natural fruit of agitation, that the Irish people wish to be let fly at each other's throats.* In fine, to pacify and content Ireland, we require a Statesman and not a Plesiosaurian.

* What immediately prompted Lord Derby to give expression to such views was, probably, a series of articles published in an influential, inconsistent, London newspaper. The aim of these articles was to show that no reform, nothing but repression, was required for a country whose inhabitants were only eager to re-enact the scenes of massacre of the first French Revolution. For the history of this charge, see Appendix.

THE IMMEDIATE ISSUE IN IRELAND.

THERE can be no negative policy on the Irish Question. The only alternatives are an immediate beginning of reform or a deliberate perpetuation of evil discord. Those who would favour a *laissez faire* policy, who would wait on time, postpone, delay, and do nothing, must be definitively classed as the promoters of strife—of the waste of money, power, and men's lives.

In all countries the refusal to satisfy legitimate demands for reform has brought forth such fruits as these; and in Ireland it has already driven the people to unlawful means, and to extreme and illegal aims. Conservation of abuses, such as exist in that country, produces an impatient despair, and converts those who would be reformers into revolutionists and republicans. The refusal to abolish invidious and irritating privileges brings odium on England and on the cause of government, and it is embittered by the unceasing evidences of the overbearing arrogance of the privileged few. On this smooth and easy policy

is chargeable the guilt of having transformed Ireland from a nation calm and hopeful of parliamentary redress, as she was a few years ago, into one overspread by a conspiracy, and the victim of impotent attempts at revolt. It cannot be said of such a policy that if it do no good it will do no harm—that it is, in fact, a negative policy. It is not a small thing to have stained a land with blood spilled in rebellion, nor will history pass a light censure on the obstructiveness or the self-complacency which has brought affairs to such a consummation.

The urgent question is, whether this state of strife is to be prolonged into the future, and more blood, perhaps, be shed to maintain it. This was the real meaning of the suggestion that the Church Establishment should not be touched in the recent session of Parliament. It may, indeed, be denied that the existence of the Establishment causes or has caused the disturbances in Ireland. But it cannot be denied that the wide-spread despair, amongst the Irish people, of any ameliorative action on the part of Parliament, is what gives origin, strength, and vitality to political conspiracies. Remove that despair, and you destroy their power of life and growth. Remove that despair, and confidence in legislative action will be established amongst the people; and instead of conspiracies and bloodshed we shall see constitutional action and petitions. Lord Stanley has spoken as if he would rather apparently treat the question of the Land than that of the Church Establishment. The Land question,

indeed, is one which calls for a thorough settlement and there is no reason why an act of admitted justic however small and insufficient, should not be done a once. But if Lord Stanley fancies that a little po tering over things that have grown stale, the tinke ing up of the hundred and one land bills that hav been introduced, praised, denounced, supported, an abandoned, is likely to produce a marked effect o the Irish nation, he must be far more sanguine tha sagacious. To offer such a measure as a panacea fo the ills of Ireland, would only strengthen the convic tion of the people that they were right to despair o parliamentary action. Its possible consequences ma be inferred from the threat of a Dublin ascendanc organ which has declared that the last tenant-righ bills brought in by Conservative statesmen woul compel landlords to evict largely "in self-defence."

The question of the Church Establishment, more over, presents neither intricacies nor difficulties. Th subject is one which in all its bearings can be seen a plainly by Englishmen as by natives of the country and it is, especially, one in which thorough an immediate action cannot fail to be followed by instan taneous and general effect. The Church Establish ment has been declared to be a "badge of conquest; its removal would be a pledge that Ireland was n longer to be dealt with as a conquered natio watched over by sentinels and ruled by a garrison.

Those only who know the country well can appr ciate how vast and beneficial would be the resul

Like a superior caste apart, the members of the Establishment are scattered everywhere over the country in the full enjoyment of most of its dignities and emoluments. However amiable they may be personally, they cannot but wear that mien of confidence and speak with that voice of superiority which are natural to men in their position, and which grate upon the ears and gall the hearts of their countrymen. They are led to regard the Catholics and the Dissenters as mere "tolerated" people, and habitually feel, think, and talk as if they themselves were the Government of the country, and the others only their subjects. "Who would care to live in Ireland if we left it?" exclaimed an orator at the Dublin Protestant Defence Meeting, in the artless arrogance of his soul. And there is no doubt that in this spirit we have the secret spring of much of the dormant disaffection which always characterizes Ireland.

In their style of language and action, this endowed party show that, subjectively at least, they have usurped the sovereignty of the kingdom; and if a Catholic or a Dissenter lifts his voice against the Ascendancy, the prevalent feeling among them is that the fellow is a rebel—a Fenian. *They* are the State. The sovereignty, the Crown, is theirs; and if any one, even of themselves, would reform a single abuse of their party, he is certain to be regarded as a traitor. They have an *imperium in imperio;* and they are far more strongly moved at what touches their own immediate interests than at what affects the realm.

They never mourn over civil discord. Their organs, whenever the British forces have been called upon to put down a revolt in Ireland, have been only solicitous that as much blood as possible should be shed whilst the passions were up, because after the strife the British Government would, it was feared, be lenient. It was no grief to them when Fenianism showed itself in English cities; rather they hugged themselves with the hope that England, in her panic, would throw the reins of Government fairly into their hands, and bid them rule Ireland as they chose.

It is not to be expected from this party that, in the interests of the realm, they should promote the pacification of Ireland. On the contrary, they fear peace lest it should deprive them of privilege; and, instead of seeking to diminish, they appear to wish, within safe limits even to augment, the number of Fenians. To what else are we to attribute their arrogant denunciation of Catholic laymen as guilty of chronic Fenianism because they signed a temperate protest against the continuance of the Church Establishment; or their identification of the Catholic Bishops and clergy with Fenianism—"clerical Fenianism"—because of a similar crime? The most effective way of encouraging Fenianism would be to spread amongst the peasantry the idea that the Catholic clergy and laity of position really favoured it. Nothing could be devised more likely to revivify its organization and augment its numbers than this belief—coupled with the declaration that no redress

of grievances would be permitted. Nevertheless, at a very serious risk to the peace of the empire, this impression has been industriously spread about, and the Irish masses were tempted by it to enrol themselves as Fenians.

In Ireland, to demand the disendowment of the Church Establishment is therefore to be regarded and proclaimed as a rebel, and the acceptance of a domineering and insulting ascendancy is proffered as a test of loyalty. It is because of these things that the abolition of the Church Establishment will be so powerful for good, and that the necessity for its removal is so imperative. It presents itself to the people as a sort of English pale, out of whose bosom there is no salvation in the political or social world. "Without are dogs." Beyond it are the millions of Catholics and Dissenters, suspected, distrusted, and denounced. It forbids them to be loyal. It lies at the root of Irish disaffection, and a policy which delays to deal with it is a policy of Civil War.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LAND TENURES.

As evidence of the peculiar relations existing at the present moment between the classes connected with land in Ireland, some characteristic cases may be cited. The general practice is not so bad as that revealed by them, but they manifest what the law permits and what the executive considers itself bound to enforce, when called upon, by the aid of an armed police and detachments of the military.

In 1858, the case of O'Fay *v.* Burke came before the courts. The former was parish priest of Craughwell, Co. Galway; the latter held the rank of major in the army. Major Burke's father had invited Dr. O'Fay to become tenant of a farm, and promised him a lease for life, and £20 "to get up a cottage." Dr. O'Fay took the farm on this understanding, and at the death of Mr. Burke in 1854 he had expended about £64 in improving the land. Soon after Major Burke had

come into possession, Dr. O'Fay applied to his age for an extension of the term promised, but was i formed that Major Burke had decided to make leases on his property. A month after, on the 22 of April, the agent wrote to him stating that, bef leaving for the Crimea, Major Burke had direct that notices to quit should be served on all t tenants with a view to raise the rent. Dr. O'Fay, reply, denied that he held as a yearly tenant, a sent a copy of the late Mr. Burke's letter dated 1848, promising that he should have a lease for li The rent of the other tenants was duly raised, but did not receive any notice to quit, nor was his re raised. He naturally regarded this as an ackno ledgment of the validity of his claim of tenure for li and went on with his improvements. Major Bur returned in 1855, and saw the buildings and draina in course of completion. In this way £450 we expended after Major Burke having taken up residence close at hand, in addition to £93 expend before he had arrived. Major Burke, it was stat not merely visited the improvements, but expres his approbation of Dr. O'Fay as the most improvi tenant on his estate. In his affidavit he, howev denied this praise, stating he considered him to the least improving tenant of any on his proper "If this be true," was the comment of the Master the Rolls, "Major Burke must have a very remar able tenantry, the worst tenant on the estate havi expended £543 on the small property" (thirty acre

"which he claims to hold for life, and being sixty-two years of age!"

Considering that, as a rule, the tenant-farmers of Ireland have built all the farm-houses and out-houses in Ireland, it may certainly be said that, in that respect, they are the most improving tenantry in the world.

After the improvements had been made, in October, 1856, Dr. O'Fay was ejected. The promise of a lease did not save him, because he had asked for a lease of three lives or thirty-one years, and had been promised a lease for life. Not being a simple acceptance of his offer, it did not make a legal contract. The fact of his landlord looking on at his improvements, without warning him that he had no tenure, did not save him: "I apprehend," the Master of the Rolls said, "that the result of the case is, that if a tenant holding from year to year, or for any other term, makes permanent improvements on the lands which he holds, this raises no equity against the landlord, though he may have looked on and not given any warning to the tenant." It was, indeed, true that if a landlord knowing that a tenant believes that he holds under a valid lease or contract, looks on at expenditure without warning that he meant to impeach, that would be a fraud, and the tenant would have his remedy. But Major Burke denied knowledge of his father's letter, a copy of which had been sent to his agent after his succession to the estate, and the validity of which his agent appeared to acknowledge

by not proceeding to notice the tenant to qui order to raise his rent. There was no evidence, l ever, to bring the knowledge home to Major Bu and he could not be proceeded against for fraud.

The Master of the Rolls in delivering judgn made these remarkable observations: "Nothing be more repugnant to the principles of natural ju than that a landlord should look on at a great ex diture carried on by a tenant from year to year w out warning him of his intention to turn him ou possession. Major Burke's offer to allow Dr. O' to remove the buildings was a mockery. I have jurisdiction to administer equity in the natural s of that term, or I should have no difficulty what in making a decree against Major Burke. I bound to administer an artificial system, and bein bound I regret much that *I must administer in tice* in this case and dismiss the petition, but I s dismiss it without costs. I should be very glad the sake of justice, that my decision should be versed by the Court of Appeal."

It was not so reversed. No amicable settlemen the case would be agreed to by the landlord: " Major had resolved to spend his fortune, if necess in resisting the claim," said his counsel. The juc here also were obliged to "administer injustice," decide in favour of the landlord, after the L Chancellor had, in vain, expressed his opinion, t Major Burke, "under the circumstances would l maintain the character of a British officer, the ca

of justice, and also the rights of property, by making such an arrangement as to the possession of the farm as would give the Rev. Dr. O'Fay the benefit of the expenditure he had honestly made, with the reasonable expectation of being sufficiently secured."

Without referring to a long list of other instances, it is remarkable that with regard to the proceedings as landlords of such a body as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Master of the Rolls was compelled to use language quite as strong in 1866. Some time after, the *Cork Examiner* published a copy of a contract forced on its tenants in the south-west by the kindred corporation of Trinity College. By this contract the state of a tenant-at-will was made even worse than what it is at law, because a perplexing number of clauses were inserted, on the breach of any one of which the tenure was at once to cease and determine. It was also to cease immediately on the tenant's death, so that his family might be at once turned out without that brief respite accorded by law. All the penalties and nought of the benefit of long leases appear to appertain to the contracts imposed on many hapless tenants from year to year.

In June, 1868, another characteristic case of ejectment occurred, the plaintiff being the widow of a British officer, General Anderson. The case was tried at the Claremorris Quarter Sessions, on the 19th of June (quoted in the *Galway Vindicator*, September 16, from *Mayo Examiner*). The lands from which Mr. Jennings was to be ejected had been held by lease

previously to 1st May, 1865, when one of these p
liar contracts filled with penal clauses succeeded.
had two professional witnesses, an architect an
builder, present to prove that he had himself exp
ed £300 in improvements. He had orchards on
farm, and plantations. He was prepared to pa
rent due, and ready to submit to any reasonable
crease. He had crops in the ground. On the o
hand the land-agent said he had been given notice
to plant crops, admitted that he was a highly resp
able tenant; he himself had done all he could to
vent the ejectment, "but for some reason of her
known to her own conscience, Mrs. Anderson bro
this proceeding." The chairman asked, could no
arrangement be come to; the agent replied he ha
discretion, and the tenant's counsel remarked: "
the workhouse this lady intends for this respect
man."

The Chairman in delivering judgment against
tenant said:—

"This is a painful case. It is the case of a man w
family for ten generations has been on this land.
house, his residence, he built by himself, and he laid
a good deal of money on improvements. This is no
tempted to be denied. I think that a person enjoying
high position that Mrs. Anderson enjoys ought to
some consideration to this state of facts. The legal r
of the parties, however, are all I have to deal with, a
is upon these I have to dispose of the case."

The learned Chairman ruled with the plaintiff, and
ing disposed of some minor points, proceeded—"Here

man admittedly an improving tenant—improving the place —a respectable man, ready to pay his rent, and to submit to an increase if it should be demanded of him rather than give up his place; a tenant against whom there is no breach of any of the twelve penal covenants in this exceedingly well drawn agreement. I am certainly surprised that he should be turned out.

"The tenant's counsel referred me to a case where a learned judge at the last assizes made it a topic and reviewed the circumstances. I know another case that came before the late Master of the Rolls, Mr. Smith, and the learned gentleman was not prone to take up popular views in cases against the rights of property. It was the case of *Burke* v. *Fay*. The defence was on the ground that the ejectment was inequitable; that the plaintiff looked on tacitly at the improvements made by the defendant. The Master of the Rolls held that they failed in the legal defence; his observations were against Burke, the plaintiff; and in discussing the case, the Master of the Rolls stated that, looking at it as a dealing between man and man, the taking of these improvements with the land *was nothing short of taking the man's money*. Cases like the one before me give great dissatisfaction, and they render it difficult to deal with the question of landlord and tenant. I have no choice in this case, and it is with great regret that I give a decree. The covenants are eleven or twelve in number. The tenant was bound to give up the entire premises in good repair under a penalty of £20; to clear the stones off under a penalty of £6; not to take two grain crops off any field, under a penalty of £12 per acre; not to sow a crop on stubble land without permission, under a penalty of £12; no arable land to be broken up under a penalty of £12; no buildings to be erected under a penalty of £10; no manure or bogstuff to be removed off the premises under a penalty of £10; the timber to be preserved under a

penalty of £10 for every tree cut by design or neglig
These penalties are to be recoverable by distress like
Mines, fishing, and shooting, were reserved, &c."

Some discussion followed as to stay of execution, an
to the growing crop.

The defendant said—"I have nothing to expect
any one but your worship. I have no mercy to ex
from them."

The Courthouse was crowded. The observations of
learned Chairman were listened to by an eager cr
whose consternation was manifest during the hearin
the case." (*Galway Vindicator*, September 16.)

At a meeting held shortly after at the old abbe
Cong, one of the speakers, the Rev. J. O'Malley, d
attention to the fact that not one of the penal cla
in the contract had been violated, adding: "O
have I seen Patrick Jennings waiting and watch
for the required leave to prepare his land for
year's crop, and not unfrequently had he and ot
to wait till the proper time had passed away." T
estate had been purchased by the late General An
son fifteen years ago from an ancient family.

The dissatisfaction caused by any one such cas
ejectment as this is not limited to the locality,
county, nor even to the province in which it occ
Under such a state of the law, it may readily be c
ceived that dissatisfaction develops into disaffecti
that emigration of the most provident and indus
ous classes proceeds, and that Fenianism leav
both those who go and those who remain.

The only other instance that need be quoted of

peculiar character of too great a portion of Irish landlordism is the case of the Ballycohey estate, in 1868. On this property the tenants were noted for their peaceful, industrious habits. The estate had belonged to Lord Portarlington; he sold it to a Mr. Grey who, it has been stated, raised the rents twenty per cent. He sold it to Mr. William Scully; and Mr. William Scully, when the rent-paying day arrived, had a "lease" ready which the tenants should accept or suffer eviction. The tenants having heard of its provisions tried to escape it by sending the amount of the rent by deputies. They had always been punctual in payment. The landlord, however, was not to be baulked in the matter of the "lease," and having obtained by special order "from head quarters," a detachment of armed police, he proceeded to serve notices to quit, in the middle of August, on all his new tenantry, with the object of forcing them to accept his "lease," or of sweeping them all out of the homes their own hands had built, without compensation. He found no persons present in the cottages save children, except in one house which was fortified against his armed array, which he besieged and entered with the loss of some lives on the part of the besiegers. The "lease," the enforcement of which, as an alternative for eviction without compensation, caused such a scene on an estate remarkable for the peacefulness of its tenantry, enacted that the tenant should pay all his own and his landlord's rates, cess, taxes, and duties whatever, save his quit-rent and

tithe-rent charge; that the tenant should aban
all claim to compensation, and give up all
crops in the ground with the land to his landl
whenever the latter should give him twenty-
day's notice to that effect, at any of the f
quarters of the year; that the tenant should pay
rent and taxes quarterly in advance, bind himself t
multitude of obligations, and surrender all for
leases, agreements, proposals, or contracts. As
document is of historical importance, and as
landlord was supported in his act by the armed fo
of the State, detached to accompany him, by exp
orders from "head quarters in Dublin," it seems be
give it textually, more especially as cases such as
offer the plainest explanation of Irish discontent,
affection, and conspiracy at home and abroad.

After the usual preliminaries whereby the tena
occupancy of his particular holding is specified,
said tenant is made to bind himself to pay the r
quarterly in advance. Then follow the clauses

THE LEASE.

"First—That he, the said tenant, his executors,
ministrators, or assigns, will pay the said rent to the
landlord, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assi
at the time and times, and in the manner hereinbe
mentioned. And will also pay the entire of all poor ra
and county cess, and all other rates, taxes, duties,
assessments whatsoever (quit-rent and rent-charge in
of tithes only excepted) now due, or hereafter to bec
due or payable out, or in respect of, the said demised la
and premises, or any part thereof; and shall not mak

retain or be entitled to or require any deduction or allowance whatsoever out of the rent aforesaid or otherwise from the said landlord, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, for or in respect of such poor rates, county cess, and other rates, taxes, duties, and assessments, or any of them, or any part thereof.

"Secondly—That the said tenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or any person whosoever claiming or deriving from, through, by, or under him, them, or any of them, shall not at any time, or in any event, have any claim, right, or title to, and shall not at any time or in any event claim to have, or to be entitled to, emblements, or any customary, or waygoing, or other crop, or proportion of a crop, which shall be growing upon the said demised lands and premises, or any part thereof, at the end or determination of this demise, or of the tenancy hereby created, or any right or benefit thereof, or any compensation therefor, or have or claim to have any right of possession, holding, or occupation of the said land and premises, or of any part thereof, in lieu of emblements, or in lieu of the right to emblements, or of such customary, waygoing, or other crop, or proportion of a crop; any statute, usage, custom, right, or thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

"Thirdly—That the said tenant, his executors, administrators, and assigns, or any of them, will not cut down, lop, prune, or grub up any tree growing, or to grow on said demised lands, and will not cut down any hedge thereon without properly guarding such hedge from injury. And that he and they will dig up or cut down all docks, thistles, and other weeds which shall be on said demised lands during the continuance of this demise, before they go to seed. And that he and they will, during the continuance of this demise, well and sufficiently preserve, repair, and keep the said demised lands and premises, and the trees, fences,

hedges, ditches, drains, watercourses, buildings, gates, all fixtures and improvements, with the appurtenances w now are, or at any time during this demise shall be ere or made, or shall be thereon, in good and tenantable o repair, and condition; and at the end or determinatio this demise, or of the tenancy hereby created, will and deliver up to the said landlord, his heirs or assi or to some or one of them the possession of the said mised lands and premises, with the appurtenances, in good and tenantable order, repair, and condition. And on the first day of December, first day of March, first of June, or first day of September which shall next fo the expiration of twenty-one days (Sundays included) f the service by, or on the part of, the said landlord, heirs, and assigns, or any of them, upon the said tenant executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, notice requiring the delivery to the said landlord, his h or assigns, or any of them, of the possession of the said mised lands and premises, this demise, and the ten hereby created shall determine, and the said landlord heirs, or assigns, shall be entitled to the immediate po sion of the said demised lands and premises, with the purtenances, and the said tenant, his executors, adminis tors, or assigns, or any person claiming or deriving fi through, by, or under him, them, or any of them, shall nor shall any one or more of them, have any power, ri or option, either at law or in equity, to continue to hol occupy the said lands and premises, or any part thereof any longer time, any law, custom, or thing to the trary notwithstanding.

"Fourthly—That the said last mentioned notice, also any other notice under these presents, may be ser upon the said tenant, his executors, administrators, or signs, or any of them, either personally, or by leaving same at the usual or last known place or places of abod

Ireland, of him, them, or any of them, or by posting same upon the door of a dwelling-house (if any), situated on the said demised lands and premises, or by posting same on some conspicuous part of such dwelling-house adjacent to the entrance thereto. And any notice which shall be so left or posted, shall be deemed to be served on the said tenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, within the true intent and meaning of these presents.

"Fifthly—That the said tenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall not during the continuance of this demise, assign, mortgage, alien, demise, under-let, or set in con-acre, or for any crop or crops, or bequeath or devise by will or testament, or by any codicil thereto, or in any manner dispose of the said lands and premises, of any part thereof, without first obtaining the consent in writing for that purpose of the said landlord, his heirs, or assigns, signed by him or them.

"Sixthly—That the said tenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, shall not, nor will, during the continuance of this demise, erect or make, or permit or suffer to be erected or made on the said demised lands and premises, any dwelling-house, or other house, building, hedge, ditch, fence, dyke, or drain whatsoever, except such as he and they shall from time to time be previously authorised to erect or make by the said landlord, his heirs, or assigns, in writing signed by him or them.

"Seventhly—That the said tenant, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or any person claiming, or deriving from, through, by, or under him, them, or any of them, will not burn, or permit or suffer to be burned, the soil or surface of the said demised lands and premises, or any part or parts thereof. And will not till, or break up, or change from grass, or permit or suffer to be tilled, or broken up, or changed from grass in any one year, more than one-fourth part of the entire acreable contents of the

said demised lands; and will not meadow, or permi
suffer to be meadowed, in any one year, more than
——th part of the entire acreable contents of the said
mised lands. And will during the continuance of this
mise carefully and effectually protect and preserve all
fowl and game of every kind in and upon the said lands
premises, for the exclusive use and sporting of the
landlord, his heirs and assigns, and of all persons author
by him or them to sport thereon.

"It is hereby declared and agreed that the said ten
his executors, administrators, and assigns, paying all arr
of the said rent, and performing all the covenants
agreements herein on his and their part contained, s
also be at liberty to surrender this lease, and the posses
of the said lands and premises, with the fixtures and
purtenances in good and tenantable order, repair, and
dition, as aforesaid, on any 1st day of December, 1st da
March, 1st day of June, or 1st day of September, in
year, upon giving a previous notice in writing of 21
(Sundays included), to that effect, to the said landlord,
heirs, or assigns, either personally, or by leaving such no
at his or their dwelling-house, with any member of hi
their family, aged sixteen years or upwards, or with hi
their servant, aged sixteen years or upwards. And
said tenant hereby surrenders all former leases, agreeme
proposals, and contracts of every kind, of or concerning
said lands and premises, or of any part or parts thereof.

"In witness whereof, &c."

Not less remarkable than this lease is a spe
made shortly after at a banquet which followed
cattle-show of the Tipperary Union Farming Soci
The occurrence related above took place in Tipper
county, the show was held in Tipperary town, twen

five days later, on 10th September. Some noblemen and many gentlemen were at the dinner. Lord Portarlington proposed the toast of "the Farmers of the Union;" and Englishmen may divine what amount of knowledge they receive of the real state of Ireland from speeches such as his, when they read that he spoke thus: "They were prosperous without measure. They had been saved from the awful famine which he had seen in Hungary and France (!), and consequently they were happy. They had heard a great deal about the grievances of Ireland, some of which were real but a great many imaginary. In England it was supposed that the country was misruled and that there were bad landlords. It was absurd. He thought the bishops and clergy should give thanks to God for the blessings he had poured upon them." (*Limerick Reporter*, 11th September.) Under other circumstances such a speech would have made an impression in England and, perhaps, no one would have ventured to dissent from it where spoken. On this occasion it was immediately answered by the speaker who responded to the toast, and who, it is stated, denounced a certain person as "a devil-landlord, for he believed he must have been urged on by the devil."

In "Ulster and its Danger" it has been shown that the condition of the tenant in the northern province is, in some districts, the reverse of satisfactory. The accompanying extract from a letter to Mr. Butt, on the occasion of a lecture on the land-question, delivered by him at Limerick, will supply an additional proof. It

is dated, "Dundrum, Co. Down, 7th September, 1868, and is written by the Rev. Dr. Drew, Grand Chaplai to the Orange Society and, for some time, Chaplai to the present Viceroy. It may fairly be considere that he is as little prone to exaggerate the occupier' case, as was the late Conservative Master of the Roll who delivered judgment in the case of O'Fay *v.* Burk Dr Drew writes:

"I wish my lot had never been cast in rural place As a clergyman, I hear what neither landlords nor agen ever hear. I see the depression of the people; their sigl and groans are before me. They are brought so low often to praise and glorify those who, in their secr hearts, are the objects of abhorrence. All this came o gradually before me. Nor did I feel as I ought to feel i their behalf until, in my own person and purse, I becam the victim of a system of tyranny which cries from earth Heaven for relief. Were I to narrate my own story would startle many of the Protestants of Ireland. The are good landlords—never a better than the late Lo Downshire or the living and beloved Lord Roden. B there are too many of another state of feeling and actio There are estates in the North where the screw is nev withdrawn from its circuitous and oppressive work. Ten ant-right is an unfortunate and delusive affair, simpl because it is almost invariably used to the landlord's advan tage. Here we have an election in prospect, and i many counties no farmer will be permitted to think or a for himself. What right any one man has to demand th surrender of another's vote I never could see. It is an a of sheer felony—a perfect "stand-and-deliver" affair. T hear a man slavishly and timorously say, "I must give m votes as the landlord wishes" is an admission that th

Legislature, which bestowed the right of voting on the tenant, should not see him robbed of his right, or subsequently scourged or banished from house and land because he disregarded a landlord's nod or the menace of a land agent. At no little hazard of losing the friendship of some who are high, and good, and kind, I write as I now do."

This extract from a landlord's letter, published in the Dublin *Express*, signed William Traill, and dated "Ballylough, September 14th, 1868," is not less instructive. It indicates the manner in which the great measure of justice promised to Ireland, in the establishment of perfect religious equality, is regarded by some landlords. Mr. Traill writes:—

"Sir,—The Roman Catholic leaders of the party are hurrying on that as to which, if they succeed, they will sorely and bitterly lament, at least the poorer class will, whom they pretend to wish well to, but are their greatest enemies. If they are able to effect what I consider an illiberal and wicked object, viz., the disendowment (for that is the word) of the Established Church—equal to which in generosity and indulgence of all sects and denominations no church now exists, ever has existed, or ever will—then I too, and I hope all Protestant landlords will, proclaim 'War to the knife!' and from and after such conduct to us, that 'We will never give an acre of land to a Roman Catholic.'"

No. II.

OFFICIALISM AND THE IRISH CONV SYSTEM.

THE amount of despotic power which officialism sionally ventures to usurp in Ireland may be f exemplified in one remarkable case, connected the Irish convict system.

Reports written by the medical officer in whic argued with great earnestness that certain chang discipline should be made, because of the painfu fects on body and mind of the rules in use, were held from the knowledge, not merely of the public, of the Government. They were withheld for mo suppressed in fact until the attention of Parlian was drawn to the state of the Irish prisons, and Irish Secretary had to seek for information as to t condition. Then, and not till then, they came to l and the changes suggested were made. Yet (and is a most significant fact) the official who had so sumed to withhold the reports, who had usurped power of enforcing rules that were condemned highly injurious to the health of the mind and b

—this official has been allowed to retain his position. On the contrary, it is the humane physician, whose recommendations were immediately adopted when the attention of Parliament and of the Chief Secretary was attracted, who has been got rid of, under another pretext. Nothing could more plainly show the arrogance and the influence of officialism, as it exists in Ireland.

It cannot be denied that there was a flagrant suppression of the medical reports. Evidence to that effect may be found in the Return ordered by the House of Commons, on the motions of Mr. Pim and the Earl of Mayo, which was printed 31st July, 1868. In that official record of correspondence relating to the change in the medical management of Mountjoy Convict prison, this extract from the medical officer's letter may be found at p. 14 :

"No one is better aware, my lord, than yourself of the severe discipline to which the untried political prisoners were for a long time submitted, more severe as regarded strict cellular discipline than convicts underwent. I was, I believe, the only Government official who raised up his voice against this. Let me remind your lordship of what took place, although at an earlier time I had spoken on the subject, and had written in hope of getting the privilege of smoking tobacco allowed to these prisoners, yet I did not make any official report until the beginning of January, 1867. This I did in a few unobtrusive words in my annual report (13th Annual Report of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons) ; shortly after (15th January, 1867), I made a fuller report on the same subject ; I received no re-

ply; in fact, no notice was taken of my report. We
elapsed, and again at the end of February, on the rene
of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, I reported o
more, and subsequently wrote a strong letter to
Governor of Mountjoy Prison, specifying the cases in wh
mental disease had been developed, and urging this hum
and excellent officer to aid me in drawing the attention
Captain Barlow and Mr. Murray to this subject. Now,
lord, in your speech, as reported in the 'Times' of M
4th, 1867," (on the occasion of the motion of Messrs. Bl
and Bagwell) "you stated that many weeks elapsed betw
the time of my first reports being made, and the time th
were brought under your notice. Have I not some ri
to inquire how it was that my reports upon this import
subject were not laid before you? Can you suppose tha
was a friendly spirit that dictated the holding back of th
reports?" (31st March, p. 14.)

That this suppression of the medical reports
admitted and notorious is manifest from the letter
one of the Directors, Captain Barlow, from which
following extract is taken:—

"With respect to severe treatment of untried politi
prisoners, I need not remind your lordship that you fo
the system in force which had been approved of by
Earl of Kimberly; at all times the treatment of these
soners as to dietary, exercise, &c., has been admitted, e
by the prisoners themselves, to be far better than in
gaol in Ireland.* Dr. M'Donnell has here introduced
name; he is aware that at the time I was not a direc
of convict prisons; from whatever cause the reports

* This may not be so much a commendation of Mountjoy pri
as a condemnation of other gaols.

which he alludes were withheld for a time, I can only state that it was from no feeling towards him, hostile or otherwise. Your lordship censured the withholding of the reports at the time, but with this matter I had nothing to do." (11th April, p. 19.)

The cause of the suppression of those important reports, on which depended the health, illness, or death, the sanity or insanity of untried and unconvicted prisoners, is certainly a subject which demands investigation. The fact of their suppression, known and notorious as it was, should have been sufficient to cause the immediate removal of the official who had thus usurped what was tantamount to a power of adjudging sickness, insanity, or even death to men who, although temporarily prisoners, were still innocent in the eye of the law. Captain Barlow says, he was not a Director of Convict Prisons at that time ; does this mean that the suppression of those important reports was the act of the person who was, and still is, Director, Mr. P. J. Murray ?

The public can consider it a matter of no importance, in comparison with the great point at issue, that Captain Barlow was appointed under the Tory Administration, and Mr. Murray during the Ministry of Lord Palmerston, or that the system was as rigorous under Lord Russell as under Lord Derby. The principle involved is, whether an official shall be allowed to withhold reports, until they can be withheld no longer, which declared that certain alterations in discipline were imperatively required, or else untried

unconvicted political prisoners would be driven m
The side-issue which is raised can be quickly dispo
of. Whether the ministry had changed or not, t
would not have ceased to advance, and with ev
month elapsing the condition of men confined in
solitary cell for twenty-three hours out of the twe
four, would have been growing worse. The ordin
convict, the man guilty of highway-robbery, ho
breaking, larceny, or manslaughter had privile
which were not extended, till Parliament interfe
to the person who was merely "suspected" of b
a member of or a sympathiser with the "Irish
publican Brotherhood." The former when sick w
to the hospital, and saw each other at school-ho
the person suspected of a political offence, confi
under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,
to be treated, if at all possible, in his own cell w
sick, and was not even admitted to school with
fellows. Still worse, the convicts at the close of e
months were brought into "association," the un
tunate prisoners, suspected of a political offence,
not so treated. They were still kept in separate,
tary confinement, although some of them had bee
prison not eight months merely, but twice ei
months and more.

It is of importance to examine of what nature
of what urgency were the medical reports in quest
In the Annual Report for 1866, of the Director
Convict Prisons, it is stated that there were
prisoners convicted of treason-felony received

year in Mountjoy Prison. Apart from these, however, were the prisoners who had been arrested under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, "on suspicion." There were 139 of them in Mountjoy on the 29th of December.*

The medical officer's report is dated January. In his annual report for 1865, he says, he drew attention to the subject of punishment in relation to the bodily health of the prisoners. On reference to that report, it will be seen that at p. 18 he quotes a special report made by him, on the occurrence of scurvy, December, 1864, where he observed: "I find of late that the number of punishments has greatly increased, and I also find that three out of four cases of scurvy have been for a longer or shorter period under punishment with curtailed diet." In that report also, is to be found the case, quoted at p. 367, of a prisoner undergoing a peculiar kind of punishment: "On the 7th of January, 1865," writes the physician, "when visiting the punishment cells I found a prisoner in one of them, looking very miserable. He was stooping forward, with his hands thrust between his legs; his extremities were cold; his features shrunken; he shivered, and his teeth chattered. He had the appearance of a man labouring under serious illness; indeed

* During the year 1866, the greatest monthly number of such prisoners present in Mountjoy from February 24: was, for February, 89; March, 124; April, 120; May, 162; June, 161; July 157; August, 162; September, 226; October, 128; November, 88; December, 143.

the leaden hue of his face and sunken eye looked like that of a patient struck with Asiatic cholera." This man had been left to lie on the floor, without bed or bed-clothes, save a rug weighing four pounds (in addition to his day-clothes), during a month when the cold was intense—often several degrees beyond freezing point.* The medical officer remonstrated against the adoption of such a mode of punishment.

On account of "the greater number of suicidal attempts made during the last few years" the medical officer in his report for 1866 was induced to consider the subject of punishment in its relation to the health of the mind. One of his conclusions was that it is "a most important principle in the consideration of punishment, medically, that if possible the individual should have a clear idea of the wrongness of the offence for which he is punished; otherwise a punishment may have a maddening effect." As illustrating this he quotes the case of the prisoner J. Murphy. When inspected, he appeared a quiet, and respectable man, somewhat advanced in life. "On the following morning when visiting the punishment cells, I found one of them occupied by J. Murphy, who was greatly excited. He began by telling me that he was shut

* Captain Barlow, in the Return of 1868, states it was contemplated to give prisoners three nights of such punishment, in a cell "kept to a high temperature." But the then chief warder, Browne, in a letter in Dublin *Freeman's Journal* (September 19) says: "I have myself seen the water freeze in the cells at Mountjoy." The partial paralysis of Edward M. (see p. 369) from cold in Mountjoy furnishes another corroboration.

up there and placed on bread and water diet because he did not conform to the religion of any of the prison chaplains; that he believed in the Almighty, and so forth—talking excitedly. I believed him to be insane, and directed that he should be brought to hospital for further examination. On the next day he was more composed, and I examined him carefully in presence of the governor." There was no error in his statement. He had been given a certain time to determine whether he would become a member of one of the three recognized religions, and on his declining—" he asserted repeatedly that he would die first,"—he was ordered " bread and water; penal cell; weekly report." The medical officer found that he was not insane but " simply irritated to an extreme degree by a punishment which did not appear just to him, and against which he could not appeal. He was some days later dismissed from hospital to return to the punishment cell."—When this report was published, public attention was attracted to this case of punishment for conscience' sake, and the prisoner was relieved of the penalties imposed on him.

In the same report the medical officer observed, with respect to the untried prisoners confined " on suspicion," that one death had occurred, after a very short illness, that all other serious cases of illness amongst them were reported to Government and the patients discharged from prison, when it was supposed that confinement was really likely to aggravate their disease. More than one of these, we must remark, died soon after their release.

The medical officer further observed :—" Apar however, from actual diseases, the health of a goo many of these prisoners has deteriorated from thei prolonged confinement. There are at present thirtee untried political prisoners who have been confined i this prison for eight months and upwards, and wh are subjected to a cellular discipline more strict i some respects than that to which a convict is submit ted. There are a good many others of the same cla who, although not in this prison so long, have neve theless been in confinement elsewhere, so as to hav been submitted for eight months or upwards to a stric cellular discipline. I must strongly recommend, o medical grounds, that prisoners so long confined shoul be allowed if possible some degree of association wit their fellows." This was the right of common convict of men guilty of larceny, house-breaking or man slaughter ; it was refused to the political prisoners- or rather to men " suspected" of having participate in a political offence.

No notice was taken of this urgent recommendatio The director, Mr. Murray, in his report dated the sul sequent month, said " the discipline remains unal tered." Yet the recommendation of the Protestan physician was more than borne out by the observa tions of the Rev. Mr. Cody, Catholic chaplain. Th gentleman urged with much earnestness that streng of mind was required in the accomplishment of a re reformation of character, adding, " Now I find th the mental constitution begins to give way in man

men, after four months of solitary confinement, and in most after six. This in my judgment is the reason why we have so many returned convicts." If by four months' solitary confinement the minds of many prisoners were noticed by a close observer to have been enfeebled; if by six months' solitary confinement the minds of most prisoners were remarked to have been made weak, what effect might be predicted with regard to untried prisoners subjected to solitary confinement for twice and thrice that length of time?

The director, Mr. Murray, a barrister by profession, paid no attention to the statements of physician or chaplain. It is stated in the extract quoted from the Return of 1868, that shortly after the annual report was made, a special and fuller medical report was sent in, on the 15th January, to which no reply was made, nor was there any notice taken of it. It was one of the reports which, it appears, were withheld from the knowledge of the Government, and of which Captain Barlow says he was not the person who withheld them.

In this Second Report it was stated that, according to a return made, there were then in Mountjoy prison, 53 untried prisoners who had undergone imprisonment for eight months and more, and that during this time they had been subjected to a cellular discipline more severe in some respects than that to which convicts were subjected during their eight months of probation. They had not been allowed the comparative recreation

and association convicts enjoyed at school.* Only rare and peculiar instances had any of them, wh sick, been admitted to hospital. On account of t inclemency of the weather and shortness of the da their brief period of exercise had been curtailed. Du ing this exercise they were compelled to keep str silence, and to walk apart from each other; yet this wi their attendance at religious service was all the "a sociation" permitted to them.† The prolongation of confinement so rigorous and exceptional was likely,

* It is impossible to discover from the head-schoolmaster's rep for 1866 how many hours in the week were school-hours. In the r port for 1865 he states that three half-hours in the week had been tak from the time previously devoted to teaching reading and arithmet and given up to writing—apparently, because he had reported that t school had attained to such a perfect organization that any chan would injure its efficiency. Eighteen days after, the change w "promptly made" by the Directors! Sir Walter Crofton, under whe the Irish convict system got that high reputation which it has recent lost amongst those best calculated to judge, desired that the prisone should be induced to write daily in their cells. The head-schoolmaste in his report, which appeared under the auspices of Messrs. Whit and Murray, remarks: "During the previous ten years the practic of penmanship was carried on by the prisoners in their respectiv cells where there was always sufficient time available to permit th exercise to take place every day, or even oftener (!), if a prisone felt so inclined."

† By the Catholic chaplain's report it appears that "Mass wa celebrated for the convicts three times each week, and religious i struction was likewise given them three times each week," whil "Mass was celebrated for the untried prisoners every Wednesda and Sunday, accompanied on each of those days by religious instru tion." Thus, even in that respect, the majority of the convicts ha one third more association than the untried prisoners. This of cours was not the chaplain's affair.

was urged, to impair the mental and bodily health of even the strongest. The medical officer concluded by recommending that those who had been in prison for eight months and more should be allowed a certain amount of association with each other, and that those who had been in the habit of using tobacco might be permitted to obtain it for themselves, both because its privation had a depressing influence on them, and because, if permitted, the authorities would have an excellent means of inflicting punishment for slight offences by withholding it.

"Weeks elapsed," Dr. McDonnell says in the Return ordered in 1868 (p. 14), without any reply having been received or any notice taken of this report, "and again at the end of February, on the renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, I reported once more, and subsequently wrote a strong letter to the governor of Mountjoy prison, specifying the cases in which mental disease had been developed,* and urging this humane and excellent officer to aid me in drawing the attention of Captain Barlow and Mr. Murray to this subject."

In this Third Report the medical officer again anxiously directed attention to the injury resulting to the bodily and mental health of the untried prisoners, on account of the exceptionally rigorous confinement to which they were subjected. They were kept separate and solitary in cells all day long, except when at

* This exceedingly important letter has been quoted at page 375.

exercise, or at religious service, where they were
allowed to converse. They were not permitted
comparative recreation of school. They were forb
den, when ill, the relaxation of intercourse in hospi
except in special instances. So strict a cellular d
cipline was very trying to the bodily as well as men
health. Not a few of the untried prisoners had b
greatly altered in their appearance. They had b
rendered emaciated and worn-looking, and their m
cles made soft and flabby. Some had shown
mistakable signs of mental disturbance. The Rom
Catholic chaplain had besought his attention to se
ral such cases which had been made the subject
special reports. Fifty-three untried prisoners,
stated in the previous report, which was disregard
had been in confinement for eight months and
wards. One of them, named Sweeny, concern
whom a special report was made, had been subjec
to this separate, solitary cell-confinement, for sixt
months. On medical grounds, the physician decla
again he felt bound to strongly recommend a rela
tion of this exceptional discipline. He submit
three propositions for consideration: that all untr
prisoners in confinement for four months or mo
should be allowed to have association with each otl
for some hours daily; that the general order agai
admission of cases of illness to hospital should be wi
drawn, and the physician allowed to use his disc
tion; that all untried prisoners willing to provi
tobacco for themselves should be allowed the use of

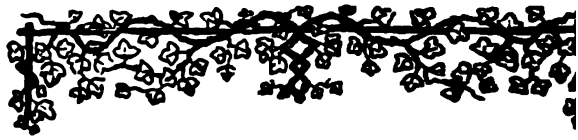
The Governor of Mountjoy, when statements so urgent touching the health, bodily and mental, of those prisoners beneath his care were laid before him, did not apparently consider it his duty to withhold them from the knowledge of the Government. Fortunately at this juncture, Mr. Blake, M.P., and Mr. Bagwell, M.P., called the attention of the House of Commons to complaints which had arisen concerning the exceptionally rigorous treatment of untried prisoners in Mountjoy prison. The effect was instantaneous. The changes so often and so vainly recommended were made, to the great benefit of the mental and physical health of those untried and unconvicted prisoners, who had not become insane, paralysed, or irreparably injured in health, and dismissed to die outside.

Not the least remarkable amongst the occurrences connected with this extraordinary business must rank the retention of the official who was so notoriously guilty of withholding most important reports from the knowledge of the Government, and the expulsion of the medical officer on whose humane and scientific reports the Government immediately acted, when its attention was called to them. If the person who withheld the reports was the director, Mr. Murray, as seems to be suggested by the director, Captain Barlow's letter in the Return of 1868, it is still more singular to find that this is the same person who, as will be seen by the Return, first urges that method of rewarding the medical officer. It is equally strange

that his recommendations were implicitly acted up
Some of his remarks are curious. In one let
marked "immediate" he writes: "The appointm
of a non-resident officer makes the appointment o
resident apothecary a matter of necessity, because i
member of the College of Physicians compounds t
medicines which he prescribes, he breaks one of t
most stringent rules of his diploma, and hence b
(the late) Dr. Banon and Dr. McDonnell were alw
most careful that they should never be considered
called upon, or liable to be called upon, to compoun
In his next letter, written four days later and mark
also "immediate," he says: "I would suggest th
the post of resident medical officer" (which necessitat
compounding) "should be offered to the present me
cal officer of the Mountjoy Male Convict Prison," i.
Dr. McDonnell! With respect to the pretext put f
ward for extruding the medical officer, and substit
ting another, a resident, in his place, it is remarkal
defective. The same system of medical attendan
there destroyed, is continued with success at t
Arbour-hill Prison, Dublin, and at the General Pris
for Scotland, at Perth. The resident apothecary
Mountjoy Prison was a registered practitioner und
the "Medical act," and an accoucheur, and thus th
institution which was merely a prison was as well pr
vided with efficient medical attendance as many ho
pitals, in which none but the sick and wounded a
received. Finally Dr. McDonnell, who, in additi
to his high medical and surgical qualifications, is

fellow of the Royal Society, had been ten years in the service, and was therefore thoroughly conversant with the means by which the Irish convict system had been made to attain its high reputation. It followed, it is true, that he could not approve of the adoption of those more recent measures whereby its prestige has been undermined and degraded.

There is no complaint in the return of 1868 charging that any prisoner died through his neglect during those ten years; yet the resident officer who succeeded him was not installed many weeks when a coroner's jury, called to pronounce upon the death of a prisoner, accompanied their verdict by a censure on the conduct of the case by the new official. By the Return of 1868 it will be seen that Dr. McDonnell demands an investigation into the causes of the differences existing between him and his official superiors who, it may be observed, have been elevated at a comparatively recent period to that position. He further declares that when he had differences with his superiors, "it was not from any want of attention to the sick, it was because in the honest discharge of my duty, I leaned perhaps too much to the side of humanity." When a statement so grave and so significant is made, under circumstances which have caused so painful a sensation amongst the Irish public, it should be considered not merely the right but the pressing duty of an impartial Government to issue a Commission to investigate these matters and to report upon the present condition of the Irish Convict System.



No. III.

PRE-HISTORIC POLITICIANS AND IR FEUDS.

IT has been stated at page 387, that the u ance of the views expressed by Lord Derby, on subject of Irish feuds, was probably suggested at time by a series of articles which had appeared London newspaper. The object of those essays w show that repression, not reform, was what Ire required, because the Irish would fain have inaugur scenes of massacre like those of the first French R lution. Now for the historian as well as for politician this is a topic of considerable inte Scenes like those of the first French Revolution h not been re-enacted in any country since, and it i importance to find out why a people, generally s ligious and so free from social crime as the I should have thought of suddenly making a mass of a great number of their clergymen and respect laymen. On a careful examination of the subject, find that the allegation of the London newspaper not a gratuitous one; it had what might appear

be certain grounds to go upon. The charge was first made officially, and so far from having been exaggerated in the *Times*, the newspaper in question, the official charge goes beyond anything uttered elsewhere. The official charge stated that it was intended that there should be an indiscriminate massacre—an assassination of all those above the lower classes, including, especially, the Roman Catholic priests. Now, it is certain that the French Revolutionists did not massacre all the priests, nor all those above the lower classes. The official statement was made by the Irish Law Adviser to the Castle, under Earl Russell's administration, at the preliminary investigation of the case of the first prisoners arrested for Fenianism. The investigation was held, in September, 1865, before a magistrate, and in the presence of the representatives of the press. The following were the exact words in which the charge was made, as they appear in the daily newspapers of that time:

"The design, as manifested in their writings, public and private, as will be proved in evidence on the trial, the design took the form, not as on former occasions of a somewhat similar nature, not of a mere revolutionary theory, not some theoretical scheme of regeneration by substituting one government for another, but it partook of the character of socialism in its most pernicious and most wicked phase. The lower classes were taught to believe that they might expect a redistribution of the property, real and personal, of the country. They were taught to believe that the law by which any man possessed more property than another was unjust and wicked, and the plan of operation, as found

to have been suggested, is horrible to conceive. The operations of this revolution, as it is called, were to be commenced by an indiscriminate massacre—by the assassination of all those above the lower classes, including the Roman Catholic clergy " (here the two chief prisoners looked at each other and smiled), "against whom their animosity appears from their writings to be principally directed, by reason of the opposition which these clergymen thought it right to give the projects in question to the utmost of their power."

That accusation was certainly a terrible one. So far we can trace grounds for the imputation but no farther. Strange to say, the official accusation of designs so atrocious was not supported by any evidence. The copious revelations of the informers and spies yield it no corroboration. The problem now is how did such a charge originate? The design charged was one of unexampled wickedness; the accusation produced a very strong and wide-spread effect; yet no testimony was adduced to give it countenance, and it appears now universally admitted to have been without foundation. It will be for the historian to sift this matter and to examine it, in all its details. As bearing, however, upon the question of its origin, it is proper to quote the following extracts from a speech made by the gentleman who was Law Adviser at the time. It was delivered three years later before his constituents in Dungarvan, where much excitement existed on account of such an accusation having been made, without being supported by evidence. These are his words:

"The charge made against me—and I feel almost unable to repeat it—is, that three years ago, when I, in the discharge of my ordinary professional duty, was called upon to conduct the preliminary investigation into the Fenian prosecutions, that I had made charges against the arrested Fenians—charges of the most atrocious character, imputing to them sanguinary and horrible designs, and that I had done that either of my own invention or knowing the charge I was making to be untrue. It is impossible for me to express in language adequate my horror at such a charge being made against me. I believe the man who would be guilty of that charged against me would not alone be undeserving of public confidence or private esteem, but would be unfit to associate with honest men. I believe the man would be guilty of a crime, before which the guilt of the vilest assassin that ever stabbed his fellow man for gold would be innocence itself. . . . . Up to the month of September, 1865, I was utterly ignorant of the existence of such a thing in the country, or I might say the alleged existence of such a thing as the Fenian conspiracy. I never was very much of a newspaper reader or amateur politician. I heard the name Fenian mentioned in ordinary gossip, but if I had an idea on the subject it was that the whole thing was a mere chimera and a hoax. Belief in its existence I had none. Well, it will be said that I had been Law Adviser of the Castle, and that therefore I ought to know all about it. The greatest misapprehension prevails as to the functions and duty of the Law Adviser to the Castle. I need not trouble you with a lecture on that subject now; suffice it to say that in my position as Law Adviser to the Castle I never heard the word Fenian mentioned. My duties were totally different, and I knew nothing whatever about it. In that state of things I was suddenly informed, in the month of September, 1865, that the police had discovered the existence of a most for-

midable conspiracy, not of an Irish character at all, but of a foreign, Continental type—socialistic type—and that they were on the eve of making arrests. Well, arrests were made. I knew nothing whatever, as I said before, of the existence of such a thing in the country. The arrests having been made, I was told by the Attorney-General that he wished me to conduct the preliminary investigation as counsel. It so happened that I had been for years the usual Crown prosecutor in the district of Dublin. I had more experience in that way than my recently appointed successor, and the Attorney-General requested that I should take that position, as he thought questions of difficulty might arise. . . . . I wanted to go and amuse myself. Accordingly, I stated that. He said it would be only for a day or two, and he wished, having regard to my experience, that I should give the services which the Crown is entitled to claim from any Queen's counsel. I, of course, could say no more; I was furnished with my information as counsel, precisely in the same way that I would be instructed by you if you had a case for trial—either to defend you or bring an action for you against some other person. On these instructions the statements were conveyed which I made afterwards in the Court-house. The materials laid before me and the mode in which I was informed on the subject left no doubt on my mind that the Crown were in a position to prove the statements which they instructed me to make. Of the men who were accused, of their antecedents, of who they were, or what they were, I literally knew nothing. . . . . I was accused of having invented statements, although the very statements which I was accused of inventing were absolutely read from the document before me. . . . . The charge was pressed against me that I had invented these accusations against the accused Fenians, or that I had made them, knowing them to be untrue—the same thing.

The Attorney-General came into the public Court of Queen's Bench and stated it to be one of the most horrible calumnies ever uttered against a man. He said the statement was his—not meaning that he made it out of his own head, but that it was a statement made according to the information laid before him by the authorities, and which instructions he laid before me, I acting as counsel." *(Cork Herald,* 19th September, 1868.)

Those extracts throw, undoubtedly, a little light upon the question, but it yet remains for historical enquirers to ascertain by whom so appalling an accusation was put into shape, and why it should have been ordered for public utterance, without there being proof in hand to support it. The subject has been introduced here for another reason, to show how a charge upon which an influential London newspaper published a series of articles that suggested, in all probability, the insulting declaration of Lord Derby, when Prime Minister, had no foundation in fact.

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